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A STUDY OF LANGUAGE INPUT TO SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

by

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To my parents and my wife

ABSTRACT

This study is concerned with describing the characteristics of oral language input available to non-native speakers. Speech modifications are looked at in terms of both interactional structures of conversation and linguistic simplicity. This issue is examined by means of both theoretical positions and an empirical investigation.

The theoretical position of the present study is based on the weaker version of the cognitive hypothesis which states that linguistic and cognitive development are closely linked in second language acquisition. This position is consistent with the current "input hypothesis" proposed by Krashen (1978; 1980; 1981). This viewpoint on second language acquisition is contrasted with the "autonomous linguistic hypotheses" which emphasize that language acquisition is independent of non-linguistic cognitive abilities. The implication that both these positions have for the study of the relationships between language and cognition is elaborated. It is shown that both interactional structures and linguistic simplification are equally compatible with the results of recent empirical studies in which native speakers interact with non-native speakers.

In a number of recent studies on foreigner-talk discourse it has been documented that speech modifications are likely to be made both by linguistic simplicity and conversational interaction. The theoretical position of the "autonomous linguistic hypothesis" is challenged in the present study on the basis of conversational input-output data analyses. That is, non-linguistic features of conversation may account for how comprehensible input is provided to second language aquirers.

The empirical study is conducted on the conversational data collected from one ESL teacher, three children of native English-speaking proficiency, and five Korean immigrant children of the ages 11 to 12, who have been exposed to English for about 9 to 19 months. Tapes and transcripts of ESL instruction and informal conversations between age-peer native and non-native children, and between non-native speakers themselves were compared to test the theoretical positions on second language acquisition.

Various characteristics of oral language input are measured by means of conversational analysis established in the present study. Characteristics of conversation such as attention-getting devices, negotiation works, clarification devices, and simplification of both linguistic items and speech acts are examined.

Throughout the course of this study, there has been an attempt to describe conceptual "links" between linguistic and cognitive abilities. The results of this study, together with other recent research on second language acquisition, support the conclusion that interactional structures of conversation provide for the non-native speakers simplified input both in a cognitive and linguistic sense.

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I. Introduction

Research in second language acquisition (SLA) has focused a great deal of attention on the acquisition of specific syntactic structures by second language(L2) learners. Transcripts of the learner's speech have been examined for evidence of the acquisition of rules which govern the form of particular target language structures. The criterion to determine the process of SLA has mainly depended upon the frequency of the learners' correct use of a certain structure in a context where a native speaker would be likely to supply the structure. From evaluations of the performance of learners, researchers posit stages of development in the acquisition of any given structure, and then infer strategies that the learner may adopt in the acquisition process. Strategies such as generalization (Richards, 1971), language transfer (Selinker, 1972) and avoidance(Schachter,1974) have been proposed.

By focusing their attention solely on the use of grammatical forms in learners' speech, researchers in SLA have made important contributions to our knowledge of the process of SLA. These include 'invariant' order of morpheme acquisition (Dulay & Burt, 1972,1973, 1974; Bailey, Madden & Krashen, 1974; Larsen-Freeman, 1975), similarities to first language acquisition (Ervin-Tripp, 1974), and universal operating principles (Slobin, 1971).

In reaction to these studies focusing on form and in particular to the literature on morpheme acquisition, Wagner-Gough (1975) has pointed out that the learners' production of a particular structure alone might be an inadequate measure of the learners' acquisition of that structure. She argues that an assessment of their ability to handle all syntactic functions should be undertaken as well. When learners attach an "ing" to the main verb of a sentence following the "be" auxiliary to describe an occurring action, it does not necessarily follow that they know this same form can be used to express a future action. Thus, the claim that learners have acquired the present progressive tense based on their production of the form alone would be premature if they had not yet demonstrated their knowledge of all the functions of that particular language form.

In an effort to link the learning of functions and forms, Hatch(1978) claimed that "the researcher should transcribe and examine not just the learner's production of speech but also the speech of those with whom he or she talks"(p.403). Thus, an approach which allows the researcher to study the input to the learner, and the input/product interaction might yield some important insights that have been denied by focusing solely on the forms within sentences in learners' speech.

It has been claimed that "foreigner talk," like "motherese," (Cross, 1977) promotes communication, establishes an "affective bond," and "may serve as an implicit teaching mode"(Hatch,1979, cited in Larsen-Freeman,1983,p.12) for the learner. Hatch has identified a number of aspects of foreigner talk input such as the fact that it contains high-frequency vocabulary, less slang, and fewer idioms than what would normally characterize conversations between native speakers. Features such as these benefit learners, since they are more likely to know or reorganize the vocabulary. Other aspects of foreigner talk which Hatch and other researchers have observed include short mean length of utterances (MLUs), less preverb modification, clearer articulation in loss-of-speed rules, longer pauses, wh-questions being restated as yes/no or alternative (or-choice) questions, and use of tag questions.

For conversational analysts, then, simplification of language performed by native speakers is the key to SLA processes. Hatch(1979) points out:

> For me, all input is intake if the learner does respond in some way to it. When the language is not addressed to the learner, when there is a vast mismatch of language used by the native speaker, when no negotiation is possible ... almost all of it is likely to be noise. There is no meat for the learner to latch on to for the language has not been simplified via negotiation and s/he simply tunes out the language.(p.7)

Krashen lends strong support to Hatch's notion, when he proposes the Input Hypothesis (1980). He claims that a necessary condition for language acquisition to occur is that the performer receives input that s/he understands and that is slightly beyond his or her current level of competence (Krashen, 1980, p.170).

When comprehensible input is assumed to be the only causative variable in the SLA process (Krashen, 1982, p.33), it is necessary to specify the role of language input in the SLA process. Previous conversational analysis shows us that the learner receives oral language input which is simplified in many ways. The necessary condition for such simplifed input to take place both inside and outside classrooms is speech modification. This type of speech modification can be made not only through input per se (i.e., length and syntactic complexity of utterances, lexical diversity, etc.), but also via interactional structures of conversation (Long and Sato, 1983; Krashen, 1982; Snow & Hoefnagel-Höhle, 1982; Long, 1981; Scarcella & Higa, 1981; Hatch, 1978). Thus, in order to capture the process of SLA, speech modification should be looked at not only from linguistic input per se, but also from the interactional structure of conversation with non-native speakers.

The verbal interaction which causes modifications between native and non-native speakers, however, is not a conscious generalization of grammar rules (Krashen, 1982; Halliday, 1975), but it arises from the need to create a social bond (Peck, 1980; Wong-Fillmore, 1976) to understand and to be understood. However, how native speakers come to communicate effectively and meaningfully has rarely been examined. The purposes for which a native speaker uses language and interactional structures of conversation are in some sense more relevant than other phenomena to questions of acquiring competence in a second language. Research on how native speakers restructure their speech in interactions with non-native speakers will be especially helpful in explaining the process of SLA. Therefore, various modifications of linguistic input have to be looked at in the general structure of conversational interaction by using natural data (Hatch & Long, 1980). For this reason, utterances should be looked at in terms of their context, rather than in sentence isolation.

This study is to investigate basic characteristics of conversational interactions of teacher talk, age-peer talk, and non-native learner talk, and to examine interactional structures that make language input to non-native speakers more comprehensible. More specifically, this study is to examine the relationship between linguistic items in comprehensible input and the way in which these items will be acquired by the learner, by focusing on certain speech acts, for instance, directives and representatives, in the process of SLA. This is one way to look at the relationships among language, conversational interaction, and second language acquisition.

The following chapters include a discussion of the relevant SLA literature. This includes studies on morpheme acquisition and error analysis conducted on the basis of learners' production data only. They will also include theoretical positions on SLA and current empirical studies on SLA with the focus on pragmatic aspects of second language development.

II. The Relevant Second Language Acquisition Literature

The purpose of this section is to summarize some of the recent research in SLA that is relevant to this study and as well to the classroom teacher. The primary focus is on empirical studies of SLA and the evidence for and against various claims about the second language learning process.

It would be difficult to examine research in SLA in a vacuum without considering research in the field of first language acquisition. The field of SLA has benefited from research in first language acquisition in terms of research methodology (R.Brown,1973), and has been concerned with the question of whether or not second language learning is like first language acquisition (Ervin-Tripp, 1974; Dulay & Burt, 1972).

In the late sixties and early seventies the goal of child language research was to provide formal syntactic analysis of the child's developing grammars(Klima & Bellugi, 1971; Braine, 1971; Menyuk,1969; McNeill,1966). Somewhat later work took a semantic approach where investigators used context to aid in disambiguating children's utterances and their intent (Bloom,1970; Bowerman,1973).

The acknowledgement of the role of context in language acquisition triggered investigations in new directions. Explorations in the initial stages of language acquisition abounded (Greenfield & Smith, 1976; Carter, 1975; Scollon, 1974), and investigators examined newborn infants and very early mother-child interaction (Bruner,1975; Cross,1977).

The nativist versus constructionist controversy initiated studies on the role of input (Newport, et al.,1977; Snow & Ferguson,1977). The nativist maintains that a language is acquired through the child's innate self directing ability, while the constructionist claims that the child actively constructs hypotheses about the nature and form of language based on the external model. The focus on context elicited investigations on discourse and discourse abilities in children (Keenan,1975; Keenan & Klein,1975; Greenfield & Smith, 1976; Ervin-Tripp & Mitchell-Kernan,1977).

In the field of SLA in the 1970's, researchers investigated the form of syntactic structures used by the acquirer. Since Berko (1958), Brown (1973) and others have shown that it is possible to elicit morphemes in a test situation as well as count them in observational data for first language acquisition, it is not surprising that SLA researchers also did morpheme counts as a way of looking at the acquisition of form in a second language.

A. Natural Order of Morpheme Acquisition

Brown's (1973) longitudinal study of the spontaneous speech production of three children is one of the studies of first language development that has influenced the study of SLA. He found that, although each of the children developed at an individual rate, all acquired a set of fourteen grammatical morphemes of English in approximately the same order. He examined a number of possible reasons for this invariance of the order of morpheme acquisition: grammmatical complexity, semantic complexity, perceptual salience, frequency of the morphemes in parental speech, etc. He concluded that both grammatical and semantic complexity were major determinants of the order in which the morphemes were acquired, but the two were probably interrelated and neither could be isolated as the sole determinant of the order. Though he studied only three children, his findings were further substantiated by a cross-sectional study of twenty-one pre-school children learning English (de Villiers and de Villiers,1973).

Brown's study is of particular importance for language learning theory. If all children, and, by analogy, all L2 learners, learn the various grammatical features of English in the same order, there is strong evidence for a "universal sequence" in language learning. That is, language learning is to some degree 'innate'. Corder (1967), for example, suggests that the L2 learner may have a "built-in syllabus." Such a "built-in syllabus" in the acquisition of grammatical features of a given language by L2 learners would be of interest both for linguistic theory and for classroom practice.

Therefore, Brown's study has served as a theoretical as well as a methodological model for morpheme studies in SLA. Dulay and Burt were the first researchers to extend Brown's method of analysis to SLA. In a series of studies (1973,1974), they administered a picture test, the Bilingual

Syntax Measure (BSM), to children learning ESL in order to elicit speech samples containing a prespecified set of morphemes. Although their studies differed from Brown's in that they were cross-sectional studies of elicited speech, they found that L2 learners of various linguistic backgrounds demonstrated the same order of acquisition of morphemes. Thus, they concluded that "the strategies of SLA by children are universal" (1973,p.256), that is, children learning ESL organize the target language (TL) on the basis of "universal cognitive mechanisms" (1974,p.52). Furthermore, they concluded that it is the L2 system, rather than L1 system that guides the acquisition process (1973,p.256). The morpheme order does not precisely correspond to the one found by Brown (1973) nor to that of de Villiers and de Villiers (1973) for first language acquisition. Dulay and Burt (1973) attribute this difference to the increased cognitive and linguistic maturity of the L2 learners(p.256).

Following Dulay and Burt's child studies, Bailey, Madden, and Krashen (1974) investigated the order of morpheme acquisition by adults. They used the same test (BSM) with adults of various language backgrounds and levels of ESL proficiency. They found that the relative difficulty order of acquisition among the learners is virtually the same, regardless of the learner's first language, exposure to English or ESL instruction(p.243). Furthermore, they discovered that the adult order was very similar to that of the child. Therefore, they concluded that: "(1) as with children, adults use common strategies in L2 learning, and (2) there are strategies common to adults and children" (p.243).

Numerous other morpheme studies have produced similar results. Fathman (1975), using the SLOPE test (Second Language Oral Proficiency English test), studied 120 Spanish- and Korean-speaking children. She found that the two groups demonstrated a similar order of acquisition of twenty morphemes studied. Krashen, Sferlazza, Feldman, and Fathman (1976) replicated these findings with an adult group, also using the SLOPE test. Fuller (1978) also reported a natural order using the SLOPE test (cited in Krashen, 1982, p.13). Thus, there are a number of studies that seem to indicate an 'invariant order of acquisition' of morphemes in the acquisition of ESL regardless of age, first language or instruction.

On the basis of many empirical studies of morpheme acquisition, Krashen (1977) presents an aggregated "average order" for SLA. This average order is, in descending order of acquisition, progressive (-ing), plural (combined long and short forms), copular ("to be"), auxiliary (as in "he is going"), article (definite and indefinite), irregular past, regular past, third person singular (-s), and possessive (-'s).

These morpheme studies, however, have been severely criticized on methodological grounds. Larsen-Freeman (1975), in her study of adults learning ESL, points out that the 'invariant' order of morpheme acquisition may be an artifact of the BSM. The order she obtained using the BSM, although similar to the order found by Dulay and Burt (1973), was different from the order she obtained with some other tests she used. Krashen (1982) attributes this discrepancy to intrusions of conscious grammar in Larsen-Freeman's study (p.100), where morpheme orders were presented for both monitored and unmonitored conditions (a discrete-point pencil and paper grammar test, and the BSM, respectively). In the Monitor-free condition, Larsen-Freeman (ibid) obtained the natural order of morpheme acquisition. In the monitored case, however, she got a different order of acquisition.

Rosansky (1976) notes the lack of comparability between spontaneous and elicited speech data, since the morpheme orders she found using spontaneous speech samples for two adolescent boys did not correspond to those obtained using the BSM with the same subjects. She further remarks on the lack of comparability between cross-sectional and longitudinal data. The morpheme orders she obtained in a longitudinal (ten-month) study of an adolescent Spanish speaker learning ESL did not correlate with the order obtained for the same subject at single point (cross-sectional). Although Rosansky's data are based on a small number of subjects, her criticisms are important, since the rationale behind the L2 morpheme studies is the finding that cross-sectional (de Villiers and de Villiers ,1973) and longitudinal (Brown,1973) morpheme orders obtained in L1 studies were very similar.

Morpheme studies are not able to give an explict answer for Hakuta's (1974) findings, where a Japanese child learning ESL acquired the plural and the article later than in any of the other sequence studies (cited in Dulay, et al., 1982). Moreover, morpheme studies may fail to reveal some aspects of language acquisition, overgeneralizations, and the transitional forms that acquirers go through. The results of the observed morpheme order are those of the interplay of the underlying processes of acquisition, and they only show the product, the surface order of acquisition. They do not directly reveal the pathway that the acquirer took in arriving there.

Despite these drawbacks and others there remains a high degree of similarity between the order of acquisition of morphemes obtained in a number of studies (Fathman,1975; Fuller, 1978). The existence of the natural order is a manifestation of the creative construction process. Although the morpheme studies do not entirely describe the L2 learning process, they certainly raise some interesting questions that have become the subject of another major area of research in SLA: error analysis.

B. Error Analysis

Research in error analysis is based on learners' production data for the general purpose of discovering the nature of the SLA process. Error analysis was inspired by the generative linguistics movement of the sixties which focused on the creative aspects of language learning. Many error analyses have revealed systematic linguistic differences between the sentences produced in a second language by L2 learners and corresponding sentences produced by native speakers. Thus, it has been proposed that there is a linguistic system which underlies second language speech. The error types found in error analysis are similar across the language learners of various language backgrounds (Dulay & Burt, 1978, p.562). This means that there may be some universal strategies for SLA (Dulay & Burt, 1974; Ervin-Tripp, 1974).

L2 learners of different language backgrounds, for example, manipulate surface elements of the language they are learning in systematic ways. Dulay, et al.,(1982) present the following taxonomy:

1. the omission of grammatical morphemes - items that do not contribute much to the meaning of sentences,

2. the marking of a given semantic feature on two or more items in an utterance when only one marker is required,

3. the regularization of rules,

4. the use of archi-forms, one form for the several required,

5. the alternating use of two forms, whose

> conditions for use are still being internalized,
>
> 6. the misordering of items in constructions that require the reversal of word-order rules that had been previously acquired, or when word order may vary in certain linguistic environments, and
>
> 7. the addition of grammatical morphemes where none is required (p.198)

Selinker, Swain, and Dumas (1975) claimed that learning strategies may be cognitive activities relating to the processing of L2 data in an attempt to express meaning (p.141). Taylor (1975) gives additional support to the notion that considers SLA to be an actively creative process dependent upon a learner's ability to assimilate and subsume new information into already existing cognitve structures (p.73). The most widely discussed strategies of SLA are transfer and overgeneralization.

The following section includes the discussion of these learning strategies which have been described in the domain of error analysis.

1. Transfer

Language transfer is the apparent application of L1 rules to target language forms. In other words, language transfer is the process by which the learner constructs a sentence (or part of a sentence) in the TL in the same way as he would if he were to express the same meaning in his L1 (see Richards, 1974, for further taxonomy of transfer). This is often called 'interference', which is one of the most controversial issues in error analysis and has its antecedents in the question of how similar the first and second language processes are.

Some researchers (Dulay & Burt, 1974; Ervin-Tripp, 1974) claim to find little evidence of interference (negative transfer), thus making a strong claim for similarities between first and second language acquisition. Others (Selinker, Swain, and Dumas, 1975; Tarone, Cohen, and Dumas, 1976) claim to find interference errors at various levels of language: phonological, lexical, syntactic, and morphological. Wode (1978) also points out that interference may occur at particular developmental stages, such as the "silent period" observed in natural child SLA (Hakuta, 1974; Huang & Hatch, 1978). This period seems to correspond to the period in which the L1 is heavily used in "unnatural" adult L2 performance. Krashen (1981) claims that interference errors take place "when the learner has to produce in the target language but has not acquired enough of the L2 to do so" (p.67). L1 influence may be an indication of low acquisition. Swain (1977) has shown that, in order to get a representative sample of errors, the errors that learners make over a long period of time must be studied. Tarone, Frauenfelder, and Selinker (1976) have attempted to account for changes in error over time through the quantification of stability and instability in the learners' language system. Their claim is that when native speaking peers are absent, there is some indication that not all errors are 'developmental', and some become 'fossilized', which was suggested by Selinker (1972) and Naiman (1974).

However, researchers assume that the language of L2 learners, what Selinker (1972) has called "interlanguage," has a system in its own right. This notion has been further amplified by Adjemian (1976), Gass and Ard (1983), Gundel and Tarone (1982), and Schmidt (1980), all of whom have argued that interlanguages are subject to the constraints on natural languages. They share the common notion that many of interlingual errors could not be explained in terms of L1 transfer but rather should be seen as natural processes of language acquisition.

However, it seems to be extremely important to remember that the mother tongue of an L2 learner is often positively transferred (D. Brown, 1980,p.85). The learner may benefit from the facilitating effects of the first language. Cummins (1982) lends support to this positive transfer from the first language in terms of cognitive skill of reading. We often mistakenly overlook the facilitating effects of the L1 in our penchant for analyzing errors in L2 and for overstressing the interfering effects of the first language (D. Brown, 1980, p.85).

2. Overgeneralization

A large number of errors which L2 learners make can be explained only within a framework which takes into account interference from within the L2 itself. The errors which stem from that source have been referred to as overgeneralization errors (Taylor,1975). These errors have been explained as attempts by the learner to simplify and regularize the linguistic complexities peculiar to the L2.

One of the major characteristics of the overgeneralization strategy is that it results in a simplification of the syntactic system of the target language. For example, when a learner generates the sentence 'He study there every night,' he demonstrates that his rule for present tense formation involves using a zero-morpheme to mark number for all persons. When he produces the sentence, 'Did they studied all night?' he indicates that his rule says that because the sentence is past, all verbs are in the past. When he says, 'Does he can cook well?' he tells us that his rule for question-formation requires that every question contain a "do" (Taylor,1975).

The learner's interlanguage rules which produce unacceptable L2 utterances seem to stem from his cognitive characteristics and the resulting psychological learning strategies which he uses to acquire the target language. The principal motivation behind the learning strategies which the learner brings to language acquisition is the desire to reduce his learning burden (Taylor,1975). By the same token, McLaughlin, Rossman, and McLeod (1983) argue that interference errors and overgeneralization errors are seen as evidence that new skills are inhibited because of excessive cognitive demands in processing the L2. Both strategies of transfer and overgeneralization will make the learner's task easier (p. 145).

Within this framework, overgeneralization and transfer learning strategies appear to be two distinctly different linguistic manifestations of one psychological process (Taylor, 1975; Ickenroth,1976). That process may be seen as one involving reliance on prior learning that may facilitate new learning. Whether transfer or overgeneralization will be the dominant strategy for a given learner will depend on his or her degree of proficiency in the L2 (Taylor,1975).

C. Some Considerations on Error Analysis

From the point of view of language learning, learners of second or foreign language may begin relying on their ability to analogize, systematize, and regularize the L2 data to which they are exposed immediately upon beginning to learn the new language. Because of their lack of familiarity with the new linguistic system, however, they also rely on their native languages for support. With increased proficiency in the L2, they rely proportionately less frequently on their L1 grammar, and rely more frequently on their increasing knowledge of the L2, coping directly with it and overgeneralizing its rules (e.g., Taylor,1975; Smith,1979).

Corder (1978) uses a dichotomy in SLA: the distinction between 'recreation' and 'restructuring'. The latter indicates a restructuring of the L1 into the L2, and the former indicates a recreating of the L2 in the same way or in similar ways as evidenced in first language acquisition.

However, Bruner (1978) has claimed that new knowledge is determined by old knowledge, that is to say, the acquisition of knowledge is controlled by the structure of knowledge that has already been acquired. In this view, learning is restructuring of some sort, which somewhat limits Corder's dichotomy of restructure/recreation. This cognitive principle is intrinsic to the educational psychologist Ausubel's (1967) distinction between rote learning and meaningful learning, the latter being the most effective since it is achieved by relating the new to what is familiar (Ausubel, cited from D. Brown,1980,p.71). It is Ausubel's theory that Taylor (1975) invokes when he proposes that both transfer and overgeneralization are part of the same process. In the case of language transfer, the established knowledge is the native competence, and in the case of overgeneralization, it is the more recently acquired fragments of L2 competence.

It is highly possible that the knowledge used by the learner will not necessarily conform to target norms, but may easily be some interlanguage system. Knowledge should be defined in relation to what the learner uses, rather than to what he should use. If we accept that this single general principle is operating in both transfer and overgeneralization, then it is indeed difficult to limit the label 'creativity' to just one of these internal processes. As Smith (1978) claims, transfer can also be 'creative'.

This inference suggests that the distinction between transfer and generalization does not help us to understand the process of SLA. More consistent with Bruner's cognitive principle is the approach advocated by Jordens (1980), who claims that transfer is not 'automatic' but depends crucially upon native speaker judgements about what is transferable, and about the distance between the target language and any previously acquired language. On the basis of judgments like these he hypothesizes that the learner may or may not choose to use a given source language as the basis for constructing utterances in the target language.

Therefore, studies on interlanguage errors are not able to give us full information about the SLA process and its developmental stages. In the first place, there is reason to question the special status of errors in the utterances of L2 learners. This is not just because errors are only part of the interlanguage data. Schachter and Celce-Murcia (1977) maintain:

> To consider only what the learner produces in error and to exclude from consideration the learner's non-errors is tantamount to describing a code of manners on the basis of the observed breaches of the code (p.445).

It is also because a restriction to errors constitutes a selection of interlanguage data on the basis of L2 criteria, which have nothing to do with the interlanguage itself. Furthermore, there are regularities in interlanguage behavior that are clearly different from the way native speakers use their language but which neverthless do not lead to error. Interlanguage phenomena such as "avoidance" and "under-representation," have frequently been observed (Schachter,1974; Schachter & Celce-Murcia,1977; Kleinmann, 1977).

Second, it is highly questionable whether interlanguage data, especially errors, are correctly "analyzed" in the way they are usually done. Error analysis usually consists of a categorization in terms of interference, overgeneralization (interlingual), simplification (developmental), and other kinds of errors. This categorization is usually based upon a comparison of interlanguage utterances with corresponding L1 and L2 utterances. In interpreting this way, in terms of underlying language learning processes, certain assumptions regarding underlying linguistic rules remain implicit. However, it cannot be assumed that if the products of the application of linguistic rules are the same in one way or another, the underlying rules also have to be identical. We know that many errors are multi-interpretable. Surface structures can often be derived from more than one underlying rule, and there is no reason to assume that this would not be the case for interlanguage utterances. Jordens (1980) claims that interlanguage utterances cannot be categorized adequately without an explicit account of the underlying linguistic rules as well as the psycholinguistic processes in which these rules are involved (p.197).

As far as descriptive adequacy in linguistics is concerned, Hornstein and Lightfoot (1980) assert:

> ...any claims about the correctness of grammatical hypothesis must have a psychological interpretation and therefore be a claim about truth in the domain of psychology, hence a contribution to a general theory of mind of which the theory of grammar is one component; thus there is no valid notion of psychological reality distinct from a claim of simple correctness. (p.10)

This is also true for the description of the interlanguage system of L2 learners. An explanation of L1 data in terms of an underlying interlanguage system means relating the interlanguage data to psychological rule mechanisms that are used by the L2 learner.

In SLA research interlanguage data are sometimes described in an interpretative manner. This means that the interpretation has not been checked to determine if it is in agreement with linguistic rules and psychological principles that are known to play a role in interlanguage and language development. For example, most of the studies that report the incidence of "do" omission by Spanish speakers simply declare that such an error may be due to transfer. Transfer is rarely defined meaningfully, however, which leads one to wonder what the researcher is proposing. Does transfer refer to the technical definition of the transfer process in behaviorist psychology? Or does it refer to the nontechnical use of the term in education or simply to the surface characteristics of the error (Dulay, et al.,1982, p.142)? This kind of interpretation is, strictly speaking, no more than an ad hoc explanation of interlanguage data.

With all its theoretical weaknesses, the error analysis hypothesis based on interlanguage data reveals that interlanguage errors of L2 learners are similar to those made by L1 learners of the target language rather than to the structure of L2 learner's mother tongue. Dulay, et al.,(1982) support this notion by claiming that "although adults tend to exhibit more L1 influence in their errors than do children, adult errors that reflect L1 structure also occur in smaller proportions (p.188).

The following chapter includes a discussion of the theoretical positions on SLA for this study. These consist of cognitive hypotheses, autonomous linguistic hypotheses, and interdependence hypothesis which have had a greater role in SLA research.

III. Theoretical Positions on SLA

As claimed by most researchers in the 1970's, SLA is similar to the way children develop first language in that the two processes both result in a language system that does not conform to the target language norm. Both the first and second language learners' system seem to progress through a series of stages by means of rules that the learner formulates and tries out for himself.

In this sense, L2 learners are considered to base their learning strategies on "universal cognitive mechanisms" (Dulay & Burt,1974,p.52). This finding gives support to an "innate" ability or predisposition to acquire a language. However, the proposed study will make attempts to discover how this ability might be related to other aspects of cognitive and social development.

As researchers define universal linguistic structures and the formal principles which govern them, we make progress towards discovering what all learners must know in order to acquire a language. These "linguistic universals" are seen as delimiting what is possibly innate about language structure. However, given possible universal in language structure (e.g., Greenberg,1966), formal principles of language acquisition (Wexler and Culicover,1980), and sequences of language development (Brown,1973; Slobin,1970), it is still not clear that these universal patterns are uniquely linguistic. In other words, these widespread patterns may be "universal" because of general patterns or organizing principles of perception and cognition in conjunction with social and communicative developments.

Recent functional theories of language development have proposed that linguistic structure (e.g. syntax) may be inevitable, given the combination of (possibly innate) perceptual, social and cognitive structures and therefore not due to innate linguistic structures at all (e.g. Schlesinger,1982; Givon,1979). In a sense, then, the major argument with regard to language acquisition no longer centers around the question of whether or not language is innate, but rather how language ability is innate. That is, the nature/nurture argument for language ability has been replaced by the question of the specificity of our innate abilities which allow us to learn language. Instead of asking if we are predisposed to learn language, we are now asking if we are predisposed to learn language specifically, or if our innate predispositions to learn language involve other cognitive and social mechanisms.

The various ways that language, cognitive and socio-affective factors can be interdependent are obviously too numerous to be reviewed here (see, Dulay & Burt,1978; Selinker & Lamendella,1978; Schumann, 1976). This study hopes to give an idea of current hypotheses that relate language and cognition involved in verbal interaction. Affective factors in SLA will not be dealt with directly in an attempt to limit the amount of material to manageable size.

The major position on the relationship between language and cognition can be divided into two categories: (1) cognitive hypotheses which stress that there is some essential link between general cognitive abilities and the acquisition of language (Schlesinger,1982; Bates; 1979; Cromer,1976), and (2) autonomous linguistic hypotheses which stress the uniqueness of the organizing principles for language, principles that are not dependent on other cognitive abilities (e.g., Chomsky,1975; 1976; Wexler & Culicover,1980).

A. Cognitive Hypotheses

Cognitive hypotheses vary in scope and strength, and therefore in the predictions they make. In the strongest version of the cognitive hypothesis for language acquisition, general cognitive development is necessary for acquisition of language. That is, there is a direct causal relationship between cognitive development and linguistic development. One version of this model claims that development in the non-linguistic domain is necessary to account for development in another (i.e., linguistic) domain. This "strong cognitive" position makes clear predictions about linguistic and non-linguistic developments. For instance, this strong position makes the following predictions for normal development:

1) consistent sequencing in development (i.e., specific cognitive abilities precede the "corresponding" language milestone)

> 2) positive correlations between developments across the two domains (i.e., the child that acquires proficiency in the non-linguistic domain early will excel in language behavior as well)
>
> 3) the unidirectionality of training effects(i.e., training on non-linguistic cognitive ability will enhance language development, but not vice-versa) (Bates, 1979, p.13)

Perhaps the closest to proponents of such a theory would be the researchers of the Geneva School (e.g., Sinclair,1971; 1973; Etienne,1973; Piaget,1980) who are often interpreted to maintain the position that language "reflects" general cognitive development. This is generally taken to mean that language is crucially dependent on cognitive development. However, the position, as stated here, is meant to be an extreme version of the cognitive hypothesis. Therefore, it may not be actually held by any one individual in the field. It is certainly not a widely held position in language acquisition studies (Schlesinger,1982,p.102).

A weaker form of the cognitive hypothesis of language acquisition assumes that language and non-language development are closely linked by an underlying source, common to both (Schlesinger, 1982,p.102). This variation of the cognitive hypotheses is the local homologies model in which "specific underlying cognitive schemes" are the source of both cognitive performances and language achievements. The predictions made by this type of weak cognitive hypothesis are also adopted from Bates (1979):

> 1) positive correlations between the two domains, since the child who develops the "requisite underlying structure" early is likely to apply that structure in both linguistic and non-linguistic

> domains.
>
> 2) positive training effects, since any experience which enhances the underlying base should spill over into any domain that depends on that base.
>
> 3) no particular sequences of development; if the two abilities are related by a third underlying structure, there is no reason why the two dependent structures should emerge in any particular order. Any particular sequence may be an artifact of some other (irrelevant) structure or environmental stimulation.

To summarize Bates's position on the relationship uniting an underlying structure and cognitive and linguistic developments:

> We have defined "prerequisite" as a structure in one system that provides necessary input to the structure of a second system. Hence the prerequisites to language that we are discussing here are not behavioral manifestations of performance in object performance tasks, tool use, social interaction, etc. Rather we propose that structural relationships between language and non-linguistic capacities exist at the level of underlying software that permits various behaviors to occur.(Bates,1979, p.14)

This weaker version of the cognitive hypotheses keeps pace with the increasing focus on the social and situational variables involved in L2 research (e.g. Dulay & Burt,1978; Selinker & Lamendella,1978; Schumann,1976). The input to the language learner and the feedback given to the language learner have become the subject of a growing body of research (Long,1977). Snow and Hoefnagel-Höhle (1978) have examined the speech directed at L2 learners by teachers and peers. Larsen-Freeman (1977) has summarized a number of studies including those of conversation between:(1) pairs of natives and non-natives, and (2) pairs of non-native speakers. Hatch (1978) has suggested that the second language grammatical development is dependent upon conversational ability in the discourse context. Krashen (1982), in establishing the Input Hypothesis in SLA, proposed that learners acquire by "going for meaning first, and as a result, we acquire linguistic structure" (p.21).

Recently, studies on SLA have begun to focus on 'attention' as a variable for style-shifting (Tarone,1982), conversational interaction (Long,1981; Gaskill,1980), and negotiation work occurring in discourse context between native and non-native speakers (Nelson,1980; Schwartz,1980; Scarcella & Higa,1981). Such research attempts to find differences in discourse structure and the relative frequencies of certain syntactic and morphological constructions in the discourse context, aiming at discovering what implications comprehensible input has for individual acquirers.

B. Autonomous Linguistic Hypotheses

This theory holds that linguistic knowledge is unique and not crucially dependent on non-linguistic cognitive abilities (e.g. Chomsky,1965; McNeill,1970; Curtiss, Yamada and Fromkin, 1979). Those who maintain this autonomous linguistic point of view generally believe that regardless of how language developed in the species, language acquisition in the individual is, in important respects (e.g. syntax), independent of non-linguistic cognitive development.

In the domain of this hypothesis, a correlation between linguistic and non-linguistic abilities does not preclude the possibility that language is learned by principles specific only to language acquisition. This view considers the two domains either artifactual or nonexistent. Thus, none of the cognitive structures which develop prior to language acquisition accounts for the learning of natural language. This hypothesis predicts that language can be acquired without the support of certain cognitive abilities which have been hypothesized to be related to language either directly or indirectly. In fact, research findings in morpheme studies and error analysis have mainly focused on testing this hypothesis, which results in universal aspects of SLA.

On the other hand, cognitive theories of language acquisition generally stress the similarities and necessary connections between the development of various cognitive abilities and language development. This hypothesis has significant implications for L2 teaching and learning in school systems. As Cummins (1981) has suggested, the development of linguistic skills may be conceptualized as a continuum, with some skills requiring more and some less active cognitive involvement (p.14). Those tasks for which the cognitive linguistic tools have become largely automatized (mastered) require little cognitive involvement for appropriate performance. Those tasks where it is not the case require a greater cognitive involvement. In reading, for instance, word decoding skills are the first that require cognitive involvement. As the learner progresses, a degree of automaticity is achieved with respect to word decoding, and this process can be short-circuited as the learner engages in the process of sampling from the text to confirm predictions.

Much of the difficulty that children in bilingual programs experience in learning to read can be viewed as failure to automatize lower-level skills (cognitive performance) that are needed in the reading process. Children who learn to read in a second language must use a new vocabulary and syntactic systems to make predictions about the text. The disharmony created by failure to predict slows the reader to a painful process of word-by-word decoding, with attendant discouragement (Kaminsky,1976).

Previous studies of speech modifications in the foreigner-talk discourse have considered phonological and morphological regularization (Henzl, 1973), less varied vocabulary, (Henzl, 1973; Chaudron, 1979), canonically ordered clauses (Freed, 1978), and less subordination (Gaies, 1977; Freed, 1978; Chaudron, 1979) as measures of simplicity at different levels of analysis. In some way, linguistic simplicity seems to involve less varied, more common, and structurally more elemental or regularized linguistic items. Yet disputes will inevitably arise, since linguistic theory is not directly related to the perception and cognition of language (e.g., Fodor et al., 1974). Analysis will differ in their assumptions as to underlying linguistic structures or derivations, and consequently as to which structures are the simplest linguistically. Meisel (1977) points out, for example, that within a transformational framework, there are a number of criteria for simplicity which apparently can not be tied together into just one definition. The following definitions were enumerated:

1. simplification of surface structure,
2. derivational simplification,
3. simplification of underlying structure,
4. psychological simplification computed on the basis of processing time, memory span, number of errors, etc.,
5. perceptual simplification, facilitating the process of decoding an utterance, e.g., by non-violation of perceptual strategies (Meisel, 1977, p.88).

Moreover, simplification was used in many different and sometimes contradictory ways. For instance, additional rules may be needed to reduce the number of surface elements, thus complexifying the derivational history of the sentence. This reduction could also entail perceptual complexity if too much information is lost. On the other hand, additional surface elements, possibly introduced by additional rules, may result in more explicit and therefore simpler constructions from the standpoint of the listener who has to decode the utterance (Meisel, 1977, p.88-89).

Similarly, in discussing baby talk, Ferguson (1977) has contrasted simplification (meaning some form of linguistic simplicity) with clarifying modifications, or cognitively more redundant speech. This led us to the difficult question whether linguistic simplicity, by whatever definition, amounts to the same thing as cognitive simplicity. Therefore, it could be claimed that measures of linguistic simplicity are extremely controversial issues to discuss, since there exists the conflict between simplification in the linguistic sense and simplification in the cognitive sense.

Consequently, if the speculations concerning the effects of these cognitive abilities in L2 learners are supported by further research, a modification will be made on the 'autonomous' linguistic perspective, which denies the importance of non-linguistic factors in the study of language development. The extent to which this viewpoint will have to be revised depends largely on further data and inerpretation. The stance taken by this study is that claims for innateness based on evidence of universal aspects of SLA must not ignore cognitive variation in language development (Rice,1980; Hatch & Long, 1980; Strick, 1980; Bell,1981). Claims of universal acquisition patterns must be substantiated before they can be used as a premise in arguments for innateness.

C. Interdependence Hypothesis

In an attempt to establish a theoretical framework for bilingual education, Cummins (1980) proposes the "interdependence hypothesis" which has been stated formally as follows:

> To the extent that instruction in Lx is effective in promoting proficiency in Lx, transfer of this proficiency to Ly will occur provided there is adequate exposure to Ly (either in school or environment) and adequate motivation to learn Ly. (Cummins,1980,p.90)

In concrete terms what this hypothesis means is that in a Korean English bilingual program, for example, instruction which develops Korean reading skills is not just developing Korean skill, it is also developing a deeper cognitive and linguistic proficiency which is strongly related to the development of English literacy and general academic skills. In other words, although the surface aspects (e.g. pronunciation fluency, etc.) of Korean and English are clearly separate, there is an underlying cognitive/academic proficiency which is common across languages. This "common underlying proficiency" makes possible the transfer of cognitive/academic or literacy-related skills across languages ("positive transfer").

Thus, Cummins (1980) distinguishes two aspects of language proficiency. Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills (BICS), which covers accent, oral fluency, and sociolinguistic competence, is distinguished from Cognitive/Academic Language Proficiency (CALP), which covers "those aspects of language proficiency which are closely related to the development of literary skills in L1 and L2" (Cummins,1980,p.177). Both general language proficiency and cognitive and memory skills make up CALP, according to Cummins, and it is CALP, and not BICS, that is the determinant of educational process. BICS and CALP are hypothesized to have slightly different developmental courses, with BICS developing early.

The model of bilingual proficiency is illustrated in Figure 1 (Cummins,1980).

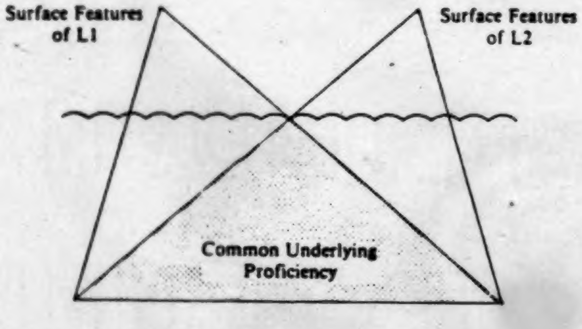

Figure I

The "Dual-Iceberg" Representation of
Bilingual Proficiency
(Taken from Cummins, 1980. p.24)

In Figure 1, BICS is concerned with surface structures of L1 and L2, while CALP is related to "common underlying proficiency in bilingual contexts. In other words, bilingual proficiency is represented by means of a "dual iceberg" in which common cross-lingual proficiencies underlie the obviously different surface manifestations of each language.

In general the surface structures of L1 and L2 are those that have become relatively automatized or less cognitively demanding whereas the underlying proficiency is that involved in cognitively demanding communicative tasks.

By putting two different "icebergs," which are surface representations (L1 and L2) of common underlying proficiency (CALP), the interdependence hypothesis may be closely related to the weaker version of cognitive hypotheses as far as bilingual education is concerned.

It is clear that not all aspects of language proficiency are related to cognitive and literacy skills. For example, with the exception of severely retarded children, everybody acquires basic interpersonal communication skills (BICS) in a first language, regardless of IQ or academic aptitude. As Chomsky (1965) has pointed out, the phonological, syntactical, and lexical skills necessary to function in everyday interpersonal contexts are universal across native speakers. There are individual differences in the ways in which native speakers manifest these linguistic skills in interpersonal communicative contexts (oral fluency), but for the most part these differences are not strongly related to cognitive or academic language proficiency (CALP).

The relevance of the BICS/CALP distinction to age differences in rate of acquisition, for example, is that "older learners will perform better than younger learners on any measure that loads on a CALP factor" (Cummins, 1980, p.180). With greater cognitive development and increased knowledge of the world, older performers may be able to make more sense of the language input they hear, that is, more CALP may thus mean more comprehensible input at least at the beginning stage of L2 learning. The comprehensibility at this level may be found to a great extent in the specific context of the interpersonal exchange. Thus, the older learner can be expected to do better on most standardized tests, but may not show a superiority for communicative skills such as oral fluency, phonology, and listening comprehension, compared with younger learners of ESL in the bilingual situation.

CALP is not the main concern of this study. However, this study will focus on BICS, that is, how learners acquire basic interpersonal communication skills. One way to approach this problem is to specify the influence of CALP on BICS in the teaching and learning situation. Language and non-language development could, in some respects, both be subject to the constraints of a common underlying variables. Given this assumption, some variations would not be specific to language, and the source would be sought in more general human characteristics.

Hatch (1974) had identified two types of L2 learners: "rule-learners," who showed orderly stages of acquisition with little variability of forms produced at any stage, and "data-gatherers," who imitate a great deal and use a mixture of correct and incorrect forms. Krashen (1976) distinguished between over-, and under-, and optimal users of the Monitor. Fillmore (1978) discussed the manner in which individual differences in social skills affected the application of these cognitive strategies that ultimately lead to language learning. In her analysis the interaction of social, personality, and cognitive factors led to variations in the pace at which children learned a new language in a natural setting. The following section will discuss cognitive styles of SLA reported in the literature.

D. Cognitive Styles of Second Language Acquisition

As mentioned in the previous sections, the pioneering work in SLA stressed universal cognitive mechanisms. Recently, however, researchers have discovered that there is more than one way to acquire a given language. This research has documented several patterns of language acquisition which suggest that there are styles of language acquisition.

The observed variability in language acquisition bears on several assumptions about the nature of linguistic ability. For instance, so far as universal sequences of SLA imply the "universal innate mechanism" for language learning capacity (Dulay & Burt,1974; Krashen, et al.,1974), these inferences must be qualified to account for the range of variability. In other words, the degree to which these are invariant sequences across individuals implies the degree to which these behaviors can be attributed to a common underlying source. Discovery of variation in the acquisition process calls into question earlier assumptions about the "regularity" of language development, and the attributed source of this "regularity." It is clear that until we can specify the extent and range of variability in language development (i.e. language acquisition strategies and sequences that will result in reasonable linguistic proficiency) we have no hope of accurately identifying subtle divergences from the norm. This section is a review of recent studies documenting variability in SLA and an investigation of their implications.

1. Vernacular/Superordinate Continuum

In an earlier paper, Tarone (1979) suggested that the interlanguage of L2 learners should be viewed as a variable system, a system that changes when the linguistic environment changes. There is empirical evidence that interlanguage is variable in this sense in its syntax as well as in its morphology. While most of the published evidence to date on interlanguage variability is based on phonological data, there are good indications that interlanguage syntax and morphology may also be viewed as variable in nature. For example, Fairbanks (1981) finds in a pilot study that third person singular verb forms are supplied variably, apparently depending on the degree of attention the learner pays to speech form. Krashen (1977) has reported a similar finding with regards to third person singular. Anecdotal evidence indicates that article usage is similarly variable. It is claimed that certain syntactic features will also prove to be variable.

Following Labov (1969), Tarone (1982) proposed that any linguistic system (a native language or an interlanguage, for example) must be viewed as consisting of a continuum of styles, that is, superordinate style and vernacular style. She explains both styles as follows:

> Any system has its own 'superordinate' style, which may be defined as that style produced when the speaker pays the most attention to speech form. This superordinate style has a superordinate norm - an ideal or canonical form within the range of the style. Any linguistic system also has its own 'vernacular' style, which may be defined as that style produced when the speaker pays the least amount of attention to speech form. This vernacular style has a vernacular norm - an ideal or canonical form within the range of that style. (Tarone, 1982, p.72)

The competence of the speaker of a particular language includes knowledge of both of the superordinate and the vernacular norm of that system, and the ability to style-shift between them on continuum.

As Dickerson and Dickerson (1977) show, we can see evidence of style shifting in the interlanguage performance of Japanese learners of English, with regard to their production of /r/ in the context of / C_high vowel /. This means that it is systematic in that the interlanguage rule for presence of /r/ is a variable rule which describes and predicts a precise percentage of target-language-like behavior in attended speech, and a lower percentage of target-language-like behavior in free speech. If, in the initial stages of learning, the interlanguage vernacular norm includes a categorical rule specifying 0% /r/ in the context X_Y, then we may speculate that style-shifting toward the interlanguage superordinate norm may entail making that categorical rule more variable by beginning to supply a small percentage of /r/ in that context. So style-shifting toward the interlanguage superordinate norm may involve making categorical rules variables as often as making variable rules categorical.

Tarone(1982) views interlanguage as being composed of a continuum of styles, ranging from a vernacular style with its norm, to a superordinate style with its norm. Both the vernacular norm and the superordinate norm of interlanguage are different parts of the learner's overall interlanguage competence. The interlanguage is a continuum of styles along which the learner shifts variably, depending upon the degree to which attention is focused on language form. Tarone (1982) concluded that the interlanguage vernacular "is systematic in that it is describable and predictable by a set of rules, and that the vernacular is the most systematic style in that it is least permeable to invasion from other rule system" (p.69).

2. Learning/Acquisition Distinction

Krashen's (1976;1977) Monitor Theory assumes the existence of two independent grammatical systems in the competence of an L2 learner: a "learned" system and an "acquired" system. The "learned" system is consciously internalized, by means of a focus on the form of language. The "acquired" system is subconsciously internalized while the acquirer is engaged in meaningful communication in the target language. Acquisition occurs in the internalization of a first language by children, and also occurs when children internalize a second language. Acquisition is characterized by a fairly set order of acquisition of structures in the target language. This acquired system initiates utterances; the consciously learned system is only available to the learner as a Monitor, which alters the output of the acquired system to improve accuracy of form.

Conscious explanation and learning of formal rules may at first glance appear to give adults a large advantage over children in acquiring an L2. In reality, however, conscious learning provides but a small amount of help because of its very restricted utilizability. People can communicate naturally with a language only if they have acquired tacit knowledge of it, and consciously available rules can be shown to be effective only as a Monitor on the required system. The Monitor, in addition, operates only when the language user is focusing on form, when the rule being handled by the Monitor is available and simple enough to be manipulated consciously, and when there is enough time for such conscious processing to take place. In other words, the Monitor is effective only in certain prescribed and limited conditions, and its use in the most contrived situations (such as multiple-choice tests) appears to be greatly restricted and unproductive (Krashen, 1982). This is the heart of the distinction between "learning" and "acquisition." "Learning" consists of conscious mastery of formal rules and is available only as a Monitor, whereas "acquisition" consists of tacit or implict mastery of the natural grammar of the language and is available for the construction of connected discourse during meaningful communication. Krashen (1982) claims that "previous conscious learning is not necessary for language acquisition" (p.85).

Krashen's Monitor Theory, in terms of the distinction between "learning" and "acquisition," has been criticized by such researchers as Gass (1983), McLaughlin (1978;1983), and Munsell and Carr (1981), all of whom insist that the acquirer should reach a stage of "awareness," or "attention" of a particular feature of the tacit rule. In conjunction with the language learning situation, the learning-acquisition dimension can be broken down into two dimensions. One of these is concerned with the characteristics of the knowledge about language that is being used. Thus, knowledge of language can be "declarative," which means that it is accessible to consciousness (Munsell & Carr,1981). Ryle (1949) captured this same idea in his famous distinction between "knowing that" and "knowing how." A separate issue concerns the characteristics of the mental process that use knowledge of language in producing utterances.

Various aspects of language production and comprehension may require more or less attention or concentration in order to work effectively. If one process, such as vocabulary recognition, has not been sufficiently mastered, it can make excessive demands on attention or concentration and interference with other processes (for example, sentence comprehension or memory of what the speaker said earlier in the conversation). Cummins (1983) also raised this problem with respect to his bilingual education. If this happens, the listener (learner) may fail to understand or fail to remember, even though he or she is generally good at understanding or remembering. That is, the learner would have understood, or would have remembered if the attention had not been devoted to vocabulary recognition processes that should have been overlearned and automatic. This issue was also raised with respect to Monitor Theory by McLaughlin (1978).

Nonetheless, Krashen's Monitor model has called our attention to the importance of situational factors and person variables. In particular, his model raises questions about the different learning styles that characterize individuals and the possibility that the same individual uses different styles in different situations.

3. The Controlled/Automatic Continuum

McLaughlin (1978;1983) argues that the "controlled /automatic" continuum be used to differentiate processes that are capacity-limited and temporary and those that are relatively permanent and really always become active in response to a particular input configuration. "Controlled" processing requires attention in the performance of some skill, while "automatic" processing does not. As the learner becomes more familiar with the input, attention demands are eased and automatic processes develop, allowing other controlled operations to be carried out in parallel with automatic processes as performance improves. In L2 learning, the initial stages of learning involve the slow development of skills as the learner attempts to automatize the various components of performance.

In the case of a beginning L2 learner, a considerable amount of cognitive effort may be needed simply to realize a correct, or at least an adequate, phonetic expression of individual words. At the same time, the learner needs to employ appropriate syntactic rules and must draw on a limited lexical system. Thus, each component requires more or less work depending on how well-learned it is. McLaughlin et al. (1983) claims that "the more well-learned a component skill is, the less effort (and processing time) is required for its execution" (p.145). The execution of a new skill will occur only when other tasks and cognitive demands are minimized. This statement is consistent with Slobin's (1971) principle, that is, "new functions of a language are first expressed by old forms, because of 'workload', if not, complexity of the linguistic expressions" (cited in

Schlesinger,1982.p.68). McLaughlin (1983) claims that, as workload requirements lessen, there should be less reliance on old skills. This is supported by the finding that interference errors predominate early in learning (Taylor, 1975) or when learners confront intractable problems that impose significant new cognitive demands (Wode,1978). Interference errors and deviations from systematic developmental patterns are seen as evidence that new skills are inhibited because of excessive workload demands.

As seen in this section, there are some different views on cognitive styles learners can use in tackling a second language, depending on the degree of focal attention given to formal rules. The success of any particular style depends on the characteristics of the situation and on individual learning styles.

However, when the language input is sufficient, comprehensible, and relevant to the learner, as Krashen (1981;1982) puts it, the learner might do best to ignore explicit considerations of form, and focus instead on communication. By keeping the input clear (i.e. not too much in advance of the learner's competence) and by concentrating on the kinds of "meaningful" and "communicative" discourse, the best result might be produced, even with adult learners.

Whether conscious or not, learners are aware when there is some aspect of the target language that they have not yet fully grasped. The learners, therefore, "listen selectively for meaningful input and maybe even elicit input corresponding to the areas that constitute their current competence" (Larsen-Freeman, 1983,p.11). This notion leads to the investigation of interaction and negotiation work in exchanging input during conversation. The following section will discuss the importance of input in discourse context in order to describe the process by which L2 is learned.

IV. Pragmatic Aspects of Language Acquisition

As we have seen in the previous chapter, most early research on SLA was product oriented, that is, focused primarily on the learner's output(Hakuta,1977,p.310). While we have found some regularity in L2 development, we have not been able to construct a satisfactory model to describe and explain the process by which language is learned (Hatch, 1978, p.403).

In fact, the culmination of language learning, as D. Brown (1980) puts it, "is not simply in the mastery of forms of language, but the mastery of forms in order to accomplish the communicative functions of a language" (p.189). What is meant here is that forms are the manifestation of language, while functions are the meaningful use of these forms in the verbal interaction.

While linguistic science has traditionally centered on the sentence for the purpose of analysis, recent trends in child language development have increasingly emphasized the importance of intersentential relations in discourse. For instance, the sentence, "I didn't like the casserole" could be agreement, disagreement, criticism, argument, complaint, apology, or simply comment if we only considered sentence-level surface structure (D. Brown,1980,p.190). Without context, without the intersentential and superasentential relationships of discourse, it would be difficult to communicate unambiguously with one another. The analysis of the functions of language can be referred to as discourse analysis to capture the notion that language is more than a sentence-level phenomenon.

In studies of child first language development, as mentioned before, some researchers have tried to investigate rules of discourse. Among others, Keenan (1975) has suggested that discourse rules be considered to be another aspect of language that the child must master more or less independently of syntax. Other researchers (particularly, Antinucci and Parisi, 1973; Bates, 1976) assume that all language is pragmatic, obeying "rules governing the use of language in context" (Bates, 1976 ,p.420). Researchers in this vein have investigated the emergence of various pragmatic functions, such as declaratives and imperatives, in very young children. They claim that syntax and semantics can ultimately be seen as derivatives of pragmatics.

A. Speech Acts

Communication may be regarded as a combination of acts, that is, a series of elements with purpose and intent. Halliday (1973) delineated "pragmatic function" of language to denote the purposive nature of communication. Searle (1976) also notes that there are not an infinite number of things that people do in making utterances, and that this is reflected in the limited purposes that can be imparted by their utterances. The utterance, "George owns a car," usually has the force of a statement, while the utterance, "Does George own a car?" has the force of a request for information, and the utterance, "I warn you that George owns a car," the force of warning.

Each utterance may be said to be a different kind of speech act or illocutionary act as termed by Austin (1962). According to Searle (1976), every speech act falls into one of the following five very general categories:

1. Representatives (statements)

In uttering a representative (e.g., "John stole my bike"), the speaker conveys his belief in the truth or falsity of something. Using a representative, the speaker can suggest, hint, deny, swear, etc. In this study representatives and statements are synoymously used.

2. Directives

By uttering a directive, the speaker attempts to get the listener to do or not to do something. By ordering, commanding, requesting, begging, or pleading, the speaker is trying to get the listener to carry out something. The speech act, directive, also includes questions. Questions (both yes/no and wh-questions) are seen as trying to get the listener to provide information. Requests and questions are two main types of directives.

3. Commissives

By uttering a commissive, the speaker is committing himself to some future course of action. A prime example is the promise but the category also includes vows, pledges, contracts, guarantees, and other types of commitments.

4. Expressives

If the speaker wishes to express his psychological state about something, he utters an expressive. When he apologizes, thanks, congratulates, welcomes, or deplores, he is expressing how good or bad he feels about some event and is therefore uttering an expressive.

5. Declarations

Declarations are acts expressed in statements, like "I christen this ship the Sloop Susie Simmons" or "I hereby appoint you Teaching Assistant for today." These declarations are supposed to bring about a new state when they are uttered.

Each of these categories requires something different of the listeners. Representatives require them to take note of the speaker's beliefs. Directives require them to determine some course of action and carry it out. Commissives, expressives, and declarations all require them to take note of new information, that is, the speaker's intended course of action, his feelings about some fact, or the changes in formal status of some object.

These categories have enabled the researcher to formalize the relationship between syntax and speech acts, but have also given a way to talk about some of the vexing problems of form and function in studies of SLA. Hakuta and Cancino (1977) claim that "we would not expect to be able to study the emergence of the various pragmatic functions, since they are by definition universal and presumably, acquired at a very early age" (p.310). However, speech acts will provide a basis for explaining how a variety of forms may serve one function or one form several functions. L2 learners have to understand the purpose of communication, developing an awareness of what the purpose of speech act is and how to achieve that purpose through linguistic form.

In the process of SLA, conversational interactions may vary depending upon different types of discourse. For instance, speech acts used by teacher talk will differ from those of age-peer group talk. Furthermore, native speakers' use of speech acts will be remarkably different from that of non-native learners. Different use of speech acts may be closely related to frequencies of a certain linguistic forms, which are addressed to the learners in the form of language input. Of the five categories of speech acts, this study will focus on statements (representatives), yes/no questions, wh-questions, and requests (all directives), since they are supposed to be the most common in conversational interactions where negotiation works take place (Clark & Clark, 1977, p.89).

B. Syntactic Function

Another aspect of language function in the SLA process is syntactic function which is referred to as function (Wagner-Gough, 1975; Hatch, 1978) or meaning (Krashen, 1982) of a certain English morpheme. the English morpheme ,"-ing" form, for example, is used for a variety of functions; e.g., to mark immediate intent ("I'm just going to the movie right now"), to mark future intent ("I'm going to France next summer"), to mark repeated actions ("Oh, I'm singing in the chorus like always"), etc., (Hatch, 1978, p.403). Wagner-Gough(1975) shows that the child produced the "-ing" form early but it appeared in variation with the unmarked form of the verb for all tense/aspect possibilities. In other words, this language form appeared long before its syntactic function was acquired. Syntactic form is acquired only when the learner receives comprehensible input (Krashen, 1982, p.87).

As a conclusion, studies on the SLA process should take both syntactic and pragmatic function (speech acts) into consideration. This conclusion leads to the importance of language input in SLA.

C. Input Theory in Second Language Acquisition

Pragmatic functions acquired through L1 may be transferred into the SLA process (Hakuta & Cancino, 1977). Cummins (1980) reflected this notion in his Interdependence Hypothesis on bilingual education (p.90). However, implicit in studies of discourse is the importance of input in SLA. Hatch (1977) found that Huang's subject, Paul, initiated discourse by first identifying the topic, waiting for the other person to attend or speak, and then making some further comment. Repetition of the other speaker's previous utterance (Hatch,1978) has received some attention from "input" perspectives. A variant on the process of repetition is incorporation (Wagner-Gough, 1975; Wagner-Gough & Hatch, 1975), as illustrated in the following dialogue with Homer, an Iranian child:

> Adult: Where are you going?
>
> Homer: Where are you going is house.
>
> (Wagner-Gough and Hatch, 1976, p. 304)

Hatch (1978) has noted that a topic is broken into parts dictated by the constraints of conversation. The following example taken from a Japanese child, Takahiro, shows the learner taking apart and reassembling these parts in the course of dialogue.

> Takahiro: this
> broken
> Adult : broken
> Takahiro: broken
> This /iz/ broken
> broken
> Adult : upside down
> Takahiro: upside down
> this broken
> upside down
> broken (Hatch, 1978, p. 409-410)

Based on these and other examples, Hatch (1978) has pointed out "in second language learning, the basic assumption has been that one first learns how to manipulate structures, that one gradually builds up a repertoire of structures and then, somehow, learns to put the structures to use in discourse. We would like to consider the possibility that just the reverse happens. One learns how to interact verbally, and out of this interaction syntactic structures are developed" (p.404).

Previous discourse analysis in SLA indicates that adults and children provide different types of linguistic input for young L2 learners. Peck (1978) has shown that an adult tends to stress information and meaning in discourse with a child learner, whereas a child interacting with a learner tends to concentrate on social interaction with little concern over informational content. Both kinds of interaction are obviously essential. The type of input that learners derive from adults allows them to figure out how meanings and information get expressed in the new language; what they receive from age peers helps them to discover how the language is used socially. Fillmore (1978) indicates that L2 learners and speakers of the language to be learned receive the kind of language experience needed to support a language learning effort. It is up to young learners to initiate interactions with the speakers of the language - at least where age peers are concerned- and it is also their responsibility to get those speakers to be willing to provide the kind of language that works as input.

Language that serves as input for acquisition purposes may be different from ordinary language. It tends to be less complex, more repetitive and redundant (Ferguson, 1977;

Snow, 1977). Topics may tend to be limited to experiences related to the immediate speech situation, or to experiences that are shared by speaker and learner, and meanings tend to be overdetermined by a combination of verbal and nonverbal contextual cues (Fillmore, 1978). These adjustments in language use are made by the speakers in response to feedback information provided by the learners (Snow, 1977; Berko-Gleason, 1977; Long, 1977).

Thus, language input in conversational interactions has come to be examined as a causative factor not only for the acquisition of syntactic forms and functions, but also for the development of speech acts in the SLA process.

According to Krashen (1980), the problem of how we acquire language can be restated as follows: given the correctness of the natural order hypothesis, how do we 'move' from one stage to another? If an acquirer is at 'stage 4', how can he progress to 'stage 5', or more generally, how do we go from stage 'i', where 'i' represents current competence, to 'i+1'? Krashen makes the following claims: "a necessary condition to move from stage 'i' to stage 'i+1' is that the acquirer understand input that contains 'i+1', where 'understand' means that the acquirer is focused on the meaning and not the form of the utterance. Krashen (1980) continues to claim in a series of articles that we acquire language when we understand language that contains structures that are a little beyond where we are now. How is this possible? How can we understand language that contains structures that we have not yet acquired? Krashen (1980) answers: "we use more than our linguistic competence to help us understand; we also use context, our knowledge of the world, or our extralinguistic information" (p.170).

The input hypothesis runs counter to our usual pedagogical approach in second and foreign language teaching. As mentioned in Hatch's citation, our usual pedagogical approach assumed that we first learn structures, then learn how to 'use' them in communication. The input hypothesis, initiated by Hatch (1978) and established by Krashen (1980), however, assumes the opposite. As Krashen (1982) puts it, "we acquire by going for meaning first, and as a result, we acquire structure" (p.21). In first language development, Macnamara (1972) pointed out earlier that the child does not acquire grammar first and then use it in understanding. The child understands first, and this helps him to acquire language (cited in Krashen,1982, p.23).

In curriculum development in SLA, we are all familiar with syllabi that attempt to do this; there is a 'structure of the day', and both teacher and student feel that the aim of the lesson is to teach or practice a specific grammatical item or structure. Once this structure is 'mastered', the syllabus proceeds on to the next one. According to Krashen (1980), such a deliberate attempt to provide 'i+1' is not necessary. Specifically, the input theory hypothesizes that "if there is successful communication, if the acquirer indeed understands the message contained in the input, 'i+1' will be automatically provided (Krashen,1982,p.21).

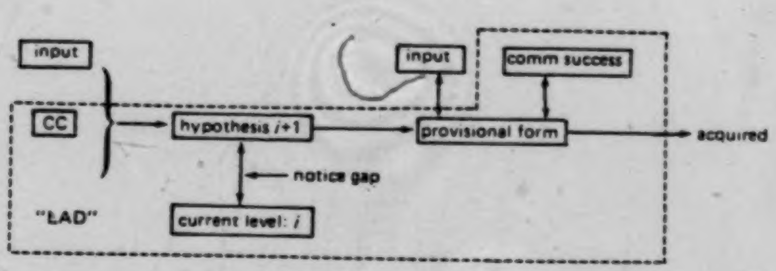

Figure 2
Krashen's Monitor Theory
(Taken from Krashen, 1979. p. 7)

In Figure 2, although Krashen has left the creative construction (CC) process undefined, he has suggested a course of action within the language acquisition device (LAD) for learners' hypotheses once they have been generated to account for the input or generated through the creative construction process. The operation involves "noticing the gap (mismatch) between the present level of competence and the new hypothesis ... The gap encourages acquisition of the new form as a provisional hypothesis, which will be retained if it matches further input and if the learner can communicate with it successfully" (Krashen,1979,p.7).

Acquisition may very well be a subconscious process, but that does not remove it from being worthy of examination (Tarone,1982; McLaughlin, et al., 1983; Larsen-Freeman, 1983). After all, Krashen has talked about the creative construction process residing "inside" the LAD (see the CC in Figure 2), but the cognitive operations that contribute to this process are not clear (Larsen-Freeman, 1983,p.11). Further research will focus on specifying the cognitive processes involved in these operations.

If we just accept it as something that automatically occurs (McLaughlin, et al.,1983), given the proper form of input (i+1), we have eliminated the most interesting piece of the puzzle. This study would certainly underscore Krashen's contention that input is necessary to initiate the acquisition process and that researchers in SLA have overlooked this obvious fact for too long, but what the learner does with the input warrants further definition as well.

Viewing 'i+1' from the learner's perspective may help to explain why a foreigner talk user who repairs a learner's utterance by repeating it correctly will not necessarily be heeded - or at least the correction will not result in the immediate eradication of the error unless it involves a structure which is embraced by the learner's 'i+1' at that time. Native speakers can certainly facilitate the learners' task by striving to make the input comprehensible, but the responsibility is left to the learners to extract from the input the intake (comprehensible input) to prompt their own learning at that moment.

One way to do this may be to investigate the nature of the L2 input to the learner (Larsen-Freeman,1980,p.8). It is obviously important when one studies how language acquisition takes place to know what the learner has to work with. Previous researchers introduced the notion of "foreigner talk"- modifications made in the speech of native speakers when conversing with non-native speakers. This study will specify what input is available for the performer and offer hypotheses about how it leads to acquisition.

As mentioned, the precise role of language input has not been determined. Krashen (1981) suggests two ways of measuring or studying input. One is by controlling the type and amount of language available to the learner and measuring the effects on acquisition. The other way is to analyze the structure of the available input as is currently done in studies of the linguistic environment of first language acquisition by young children. It seems that the latter way will address the crucial issues of what input is comprehensible to the learner and how the input leads to acquisition.

It can be said that in all SLA research an important link has been missing, that is, the link between input and output data in the social context where verbal interaction occurs. It will be clear that to talk about child language learning as an "automatic process" is simply to say that we have nothing to say about how the child learns a language. A turn to a new methodology might give us a way of looking at the 'how' question. One possibility for a new method is discourse analysis and, in particular, conversational analysis in SLA (Hatch,1978,p.403). It is not enough to look at input and to look at input frequency. The important thing is to look at the corpus as a whole and examine the interactions that take place within conversations to see how that interaction determines frequency of forms and how language input is modified both in a linguistic and cognitive sense. A new methodology to examine interactional structures of conversation will shed some light on this issue.

D. Conversational Analysis

This section is to provide some framework for the conversational analysis involved in this study, including general introduction to conversational analysis in the SLA literature. Explanations will be made by using conversational data for this study. This is one way to make data analysis coherent.

Krashen's (1980) input theory, as mentioned in the previous section, assumes that second language acquisition occurs automatically when the acquirer comes to an understanding of a new input which is slightly beyond his or her current language competence, including both linguistic and communicative competence. Conversational analysis for this study is to show how acquirers receive language input of a very special sort, as the child acquiring his or her first language is spoken to in a very special, simplified language input often called "motherese" (Cross, 1977). The qualities of foreigner-talk discourse differ depending on whether the native speaker is a teacher or age-peer native children. In both cases, however, the native speakers take the learner's language ablity into account, following conversation rules appropriate to the learner's age, if it is possible to describe explicitly what rules govern conversational interactions. Conversation topics between adult and child native speaker, for instance, have been said to be about objects present in the environment and on-going actions. The non-native speaker (NNS) is in part guided by the native speaker (NS) so that he moves from topic-nominations and comments of single words to more syntactically structured utterances (Hatch, 1978).

The verbal interaction between NS and NNS, however, is not a conscious generalization of grammatical rules (Krashen, 1982, p.10), but it arises from the need to create a social bond between NS and NNS via conversations (Peck, 1980). Conversational analysis is to capture the structure of verbal interaction in a speech situation. Consequently, conversational analysis requires the use of natural data because its questions are about real conversations. Thus, the analysis makes it possible to examine both the input to, and the production of, a speaker (Schwartz, 1980). The interactional structure of conversation will lead to an understanding of what an ESL learner might be acquiring when conversing with native speakers. Conversational analysis may be the first step towards achieving a "naturalistic observational discipline" to deal with details of verbal interaction in a "rigorous, empirical, and formal way" (Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson, 1973).

Before attempting to conduct conversational analysis, it is necessary to define the terms used in this study; namely, speech act, speech event, and speech situation. As Gumperz (1972) puts it, let us imagine a party, a conversation during the party, and a directive within the conversation. In this context, the party is a speech situation, where speech events (conversation during the party) occur. The directives used in the conversation are speech acts. The same speech act could occur in other speech events, for instance, in a lecture. And a speech event can also take place while jogging instead of at a party. Since the main interest of conversational analysis is the interactional structure of natural talk, the analysis focuses on the speech event, in other words, on how speech acts get worked together in the speech event, conversation. The speech situation is a non-verbal context, which may or may not affect the choice of speech acts.

The data for conversational analysis are frequently collected with speech situation kept constant. In other words, speech events take place in the classroom instruction, or in the informal setting of group talk between native and non-native speakers, or between non-native speakers themselves. Consequently, the conversation in the collected data may be different from many other speech events, in that it has neither specified setting, nor pre-specified agenda. The analysis is frequently focused on the following communication model taken from Goffman (1976):

1. Two way acoustically adequate and interpretable messages

2. Contact signals (that a channel is sought, a channel is open, or to close the channel)

3. Preempt signals (to induce a rerun, to hold off channel requests, to interrupt talker in progress)

4. Framing capabilities (cues to distinguish special utterances across bracketed communication to get attention from the hearer).

Much of the work in conversational analysis has described these system constraints in conversation. Many of the reports have been on the opening and closing of conversations, the turn-taking system within conversation and the rerun system, that is, how speakers fix up "trouble sources" (Schwartz, 1980) to make their message clear to the listener. Focused on the above specific communication model, the analysis is intended to discover some characteristics of conversational structures in native and non-native speakers interactions.

1. Moves

In order to describe conversational structure, the size of the basic unit needs first to be established. Labov (1972), Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1973) used "utterance" or "turn" for the basic unit in discourse. However, a smaller unit must be designed to deal with the example[1] like the following:

1. a. T: Now, somebody drew this.
   b. S: What?
   c. T: But a bee is not /this big. /
   d. Ss: /Not that big. /
   I know. (2x)
   e. T: So, that means sometimes a picture can be
   bigger than the real thing, or the real object.
   Next, xxx, what does it tell you to do?
   (T# 1)

In order to deal with the utterances in (e) of the example (1), we need a smaller unit, which Sinclair et al. (1972) called "move." As can be seen in the example (1), moves can be co-extensive with utterances, but some utterances, like (e) in the above example, may contain two moves in one speaking turn; a topic-collaborating and a topic-initiating move. In the analysis of conversational data for this study, utterances are assumed to consist of moves, as Sinclair and Coulthard (1972) outlined to describe the ESL classroom instruction. The status and relationship of moves and utterances in conversational analysis, as Coulthard (1975) puts it, is very similar to that of words and morphemes in grammar. Just as the word is the minimal free form, so the move is the minimal contribution a speaker can make to an conversational interaction. Just as some words consist of morphemes, so some moves consist of speech acts.

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[1] See Appendix for Transcription Symbols for all examples in this study.

As Labov (1972) argues, the unit of analysis is not necessarily a grammatically defined clause or sentence but a functional unit, which may of course be realized by a single clause or sentence. The focus of this study is the use of directives and representatives, as described in the previous section.

2. T-units and Fragments

Another unit used for the analysis is the t-unit, outlined by Hunt (1972) and extended by Gaies (1976; 1980). The t-unit is used to segment the language protocols into utterances in terms of syntax (Fagan, 1978). Consequently, the terms t-unit and utterance can be used synonymously in this study.

The t-unit can be defined as an utterance with a main clause plus all subordinate clauses. There may be no subordinate clauses. An aberrant or deviant t-unit frequently used by non-native speakers can also be included in the t-unit. As Gaies (1976) puts it, this aberrant or deviant utterance is clearly an indication of incomplete syntactic control, just as is oversimplified sentence structure in the conversational interaction (p.7). The aberrant t-unit is defined as a group of lexical items which makes sense in the context, but does not make a syntactically correct structure of English because of morphological or syntactical errors.

Conversational data do not neatly follow the rules of grammar. After utterances (t-units) are segmented from the oral transcripts, those items outside t-units are called "fragments" (Long, 1981; Scarcella and Higa, 1981). Fragments were defined as single words or phrases not attached to or embedded in a clause (Pica and Daughty, 1983). They could help to describe the interactional structure of conversation in terms of providing comprehensible input for the non-native speakers. They consist of utterance boundary markers, such as "okay," "now," and "so," etc. Included in "fragments" are a wide variety of "conversational fillers," such as "you know," "let's see," "I mean," and "you know what?" etc. (Coulthard, 1977, p.74). Non-lexical conversational fillers include back-channeling styles, such as kinesic mode of agreement or murmurs of assent.

Fragments, including conversational fillers, could serve as constructing "framed utterances" (Scarcella and Higa, 1981), especially when they are used to obtain attention from hearers, as shown in the following examples:

(2) a. NS: You know, uh in the magazine and T.V.
like the commercial, I used to see
all the commercials, right?

(T# 3)

b. NS: Okay, let's see, when I was in Korea,
like um we went to go visit my grand-parents.
(T# 3)

c. NS: You know what? What's Andy Moog's (full) name?
(T# 18)

Both age-peer NS and NNS used a variety of fillers to hold and take their speaking turn while keeping the conversation going. Fillers appear to have been frequently used to buy time, to think of just the right word or phrase to use next on the part of the speaker, resulting in the attention on the part of the listener.

Even though conversational fillers are frequently used as a colloquial expression, they are also used as a signal to fill gaps and keep the speaker's turn before he repairs the "trouble source" (Schwartz, 1980), as in the following example:

(3) NS: I think Dave Semenko fell and he sat,
you know, where it goes like that.
He sat on right there.
And Dave Semenko's hockey stick broke.
(T# 21)

NNS: We-we soon gonna have-have-you know
Mr. xxx said, we soon gonna have
you know- the uh soccer team, right?
(T# 21)

The speaker in the example (3) framed her utterance and re-encoded the concept which was believed to be potential trouble sources for the listener. In this way the speaker negotiates what he says, keeping in mind the requirement for understanding on the part of the hearer. Another feature in negotiation works for meaning is "I mean."

(4) NNS: Okay, xxx, when I-when did you
came (come)? I mean, uhm, what
grade for you when you came here?
NNS: Five

(T# 21)

In the example (4), it does not seem that the original utterance would present any problem of understanding. But the speaker tried to avoid any confusion which might have led to clarification request by the listener, for example, "You mean, what grade?"

For the purpose of this study, a topicalization device (Grundel, 1975), such as, "Anderson,"and "Edmonton Trappers," in utterances, like "Anderson, he got three goals," and "Edmonton Trappers, they are terrible," also can be counted as a fragment which is frequently used to initiate a new topic or to get attention from the listener in the conversational interaction. Topic used as a discourse notion should be considered as distinct from other descriptions of topic in the linguistic literature. In this study, topic is not a simple noun phrase but a proposition about which some claim is made or elicited. In the linguistic literature, left-dislocation of a noun phrase has been treated as a topicalization device (Gruber, 1967;

Gundel, 1974).

From conversational perspectives, these constructions may introduce novel referents and propositions. In many cases, the left-dislocated noun phrase may be part of the new information or comment on a discourse topic.

(5) NNS: Hey, who got (will get) win tonight game?
NNS: Uhm, Oil-Oilers, they're playing on?
Maybe. (Oilers will win)
NNS: Islanders and Boston, I mean.
(T# 20)

In the above example (5), the left-dislocated noun phrase is part of the new information provided about the topic initiating move, "something is going to win the tonight game." (Hatch, 1978). As Li and Tompson (1976) put it, the noun phrase, "Oilers" is the "center of attention" of the utterance in which it is couched. In conversational analysis, left- or right-dislocated noun phrases could be counted as fragments rather than as simply appositions.

3. Interjections

Interjections are those parts of conversational fillers that included single lexical items such as, "yes," "no," and "okay," and their non-lexical counterparts, such as "um," "uh," "uh hu," "uh huh," which are not attached to or embedded in t-units or fragments (Piga and Daughty, 1983). Also included in interjections are idiosyncratic expressions such as "like," "sort of," "or something," and "something like that." as shown in the following example.

(6) NNS: And you was (were) like singing
or something like that.
(T# 10)

As Schwartz (1980) did in her research on "Negotiation for meaning," pause, cutoff, and "uh" were also counted as interjections when they signaled a repair initiation (p.141). Cutoffs are words which have not been fully articulated. Their endings are cut off abruptly, sometimes with a phonological variations. Pauses are non-lexical means of signaling self-initiated repetition to negotiate what is being talked about, as shown in the following example:

(7) NNS: They can, the hair doesn't-u(:)hm
the blood doesn't turn into, well,
u(:)m blonde or something.
(T# 10)

The most common of the non-lexical means was "uh," or "uhm," which seemed to function as a "linguistic space holder" (Scarcella and Higa, 1981). These means appear to help the speaker to block a gap in the middle of a turn unit, while he or she takes time to repair or to conduct a "mini word search" (Schwartz, 1980).

This sort of interjections was not the primary concern of this study. However, they would provide important information for the researcher to detect self-initiated repetitions or attention getting devices used by the conversational interlocutors.

In summary, the oral transcripts for conversational analysis can be divided into three categories: t-units (utterance), fragments including conversational fillers, and interjections, as shown in Figure 3.

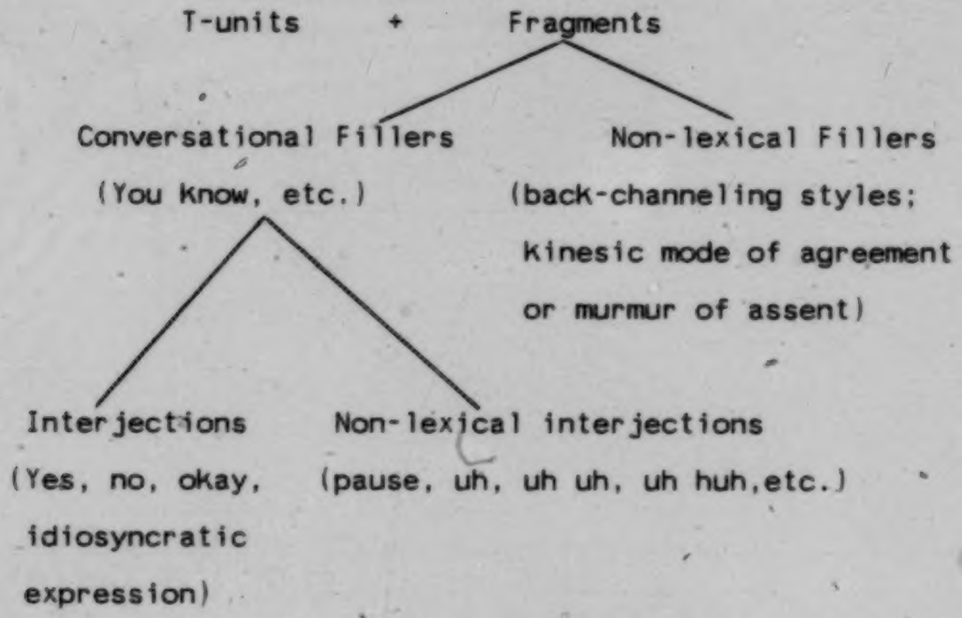
T-units + Fragments
Conversational Fillers
(You know, etc.)
Non-lexical Fillers
(back-channeling styles; kinesic mode of agreement or murmur of assent)
Interjections
(Yes, no, okay, idiosyncratic expression)
Non-lexical interjections
(pause, uh, uh uh, uh huh,etc.)

Figure 3

Categories for Conversational Data

T-units may or may not occur with utterance boundary markers such as "okay," "now," "well," "alright," and "so." If utterances are accompanied by those markers, they are called "framed utterances" (Forsynth, 1974; Goodenough and Weiner, 1978). It can be also assumed that utterances with the left-dislocated noun phrase are referred to as framed constructions in that topicalization devices are employed in order to elicit attention from the listener in conversation (Li and Tompson, 1976). Included in these utterance boundaries are the confirmation checking devices, consisting of short tag-questions with rising intonation, such as "right?", "isn't it?", and "okay?" These boundary markers were assumed to make utterances easy to segment, and thus attended to. Utterances framed in this manner frequently appear to follow a regular pattern.

4. Discourse Topics

In the conversational data much of the talk concerns propositions about persons, objects or ideas. Moreover, when individuals, objects, etc., are not known to the listener, the listener initiates a series of fairly predictable exchanges directed at clarifying and locating the referent about which some claim is being made. In practice, it is frequently found that much conversational space is taken up by exchange in which speaker and listener attempt to establish discourse topic. In the following example, the conversational interlocutors are collaborating what they are talking about:

(8) a. NNS1: We went uh last summer uh(:)
What is it? uh(:)
b. NNS2: Summer school?
c. NNS1: No. There's (are) all the country
people come to the-some park,
and playing a(:)nd
d. NNS2: Oh. Yeah. Heritage.
e. NNS1: Right. Did you went (go) there?

(T# 3)

In the above example (8), non-native speaker 1 signals his intention and asks his partner to provide necessary information. Getting a discourse topic established may involve such basic work as securing the attention of the hearer or identifying objects, individuals, ideas, etc.,for the listener (Atkinson, 1974). For the purpose of this study, a discourse is defined as any sequence of two or more utterances produced by a single speaker or by two or more speakers who are interacting with one another at some point in time and space. In this sense, adjacency pairs are the basic units in conversation. By definition (Sacks, 1967), adjacency pairs are two utterances long. However, discourses may evolve or develop in several ways.

For instance, a stretch of discourse may contain a series of linked discourse topics. The discourse topics are linked (continued) in the sense that the propositional content of each is drawn from one or more of the utterances already produced in the discourse. As Givon (1975) puts it, these utterances ,form a "propositional pool" out of which discourse topics are selected, unless otherwise challenged.

The discourse topics may be linked in at least two ways the same topic is sustained from speaker to speaker. First, two or more utterances may share the same discourse topic. This is the case in question-answer adjacency pairs, for instance, and in some repetitions as shown in the following example:

(9) a. NNS1: What are you eating?
b. NS1: Candy
c. NNS2: Jaw-breaker (laughter)
d. NS2: My sister's crazy about them.
e. NNS3: About who?
f. NS1: Oh, I thought you said she's
crazy about them. (laughter)
(T# 21)

In the example (9), the same discourse topic is sustained from speaker to speaker in lines (b) and (c). Both utterances provide new informations relevant to an object the speaker in line (a) wants to know. New information is that the object that the speaker in line (a) has noticed is "candy" or "jaw-breaker." Likewise, the utterance in (d) appears to address the same topic, that is, "My sister's crazy about candy." The speaker in (d) provides additional new information.

Clark (1973) points out that when interlocutors are engaged in conversation, they abide by a "given-new contract," that is, the speaker is responsible for marking as "given" that information that he thinks the listener already knows, and marks as "new" what he thinks the listener does not know. For example, it is appropriate for the speaker to use syntactic devices such as definite articles, pseudo-cleft constructions, and anaphoric pronouns when he thinks the listener knows the referent. In the above example (9), the speaker in (e) misunderstood the anaphoric pronoun in (d), and thus asked a question of his "immediate concern" (Keenan and Schieffelin, 1976).

Discourse topics may take some presupposition of the preceding discourse topic and/or the new information provided relevant to the discourse topic preceding (all part of the presupposition pool) and use it in a new discourse topic. For instance, the conversation in the following example continues as follows:

(10) a. NS: Steve's hobby is eating.
b. NNS: No.
c. NS: The only thing I'm good at in school is math.
d. NNS: The only thing I'm good at school is
e. NS: Fooling around? (laughter)
f. NNS: Yeah, that make(s) Mr. xxx yell at me.

(T# 21)

In the above example (10), the discourse topic is established at (a) and is collaborated on in (b). In (c), the speaker poses a different but related statement. It is related in the sense that the proposition about which information is being elicited, "I'm good at something," presupposes that "there is something the speaker likes or is good at," a presupposition that is assumed as well in (a). This continuing discourse topic becomes almost collaborated on in (d), but is cut off, with the partner providing a new information, "fooling around." This is another continuing discourse topic, which is finally collaborated on in (f).

For the conversational data in this study, the notion of "moves" (Sinclair, et al., 1972) will be adopted to describe topic development in conversational data. Thus, the move to use the preceding utterance in this way is referred to as a "topic-continuing move." The move to initiate a new discourse topic is called a "topic-initiating move." There may be stretches of discourse linked by topic-collaborating and/or topic-continuing moves. This kind of sequence is called "continuous discourse" (Keenan and Schieffelin, 1976).

Second, there may be discourse in which the discourse topics of each utterance are not linked in any obvious way. There may be discourse where one utterance does not draw on a presupposition of the preceding utterance. In this discourse a speaker disengages himself from a set of concerns addressed in the immediately preceding utterance and turns to an unrelated set of concerns. In this case, the speaker usually marks a break in the continuous discourse as can be seen in the following example:

(11) a. NS1: Do you believe in then Jesus?
b. NNS1: Oh, yeah.
c. NS2: Okay, see, when I was in Korea,
like um we went to go visit my
grand parents-parents,
a(:)nd like they-they buy wine,

and they sort of place it beside it,
and they believe that they-the dead
could drink it
and they place food by it.

d. NNS1: Oh, yeah.

(T# 3)

The speaker in (c) alerts the listener to the fact that the discourse topic may not follow from previous discourses (a) and (b). The speaker often announces a break with some fragments, which are often used for attention-getting devices, as mentioned before, along with hesitations and word searches (Sacks, 1967). Such stretches of discourse is referred to as "discontinuous discourse" (Keenan and Schieffelin, 1976).

Discontinuous discourse may have two types of discourse topic. The first type is to re-introduce a discourse topic that has appeared in the discourse history at some point prior to the immediately preceding utterance. For the purpose of data analysis, this type could be regarded as a topic-continuing move when the re-introduced topic is within five turns. In this study, it will be treated as a topic-initiating move when it occurrs beyond five turns. The other type is to introduce a discourse topic that is not related to the preceding utterance at all, and does not draw on utterances produced elsewhere in the discourse. This type of discontinuous discourse could be regarded as a topic-initiating move.

As noted in the previous examples, a discourse topic is a proposition or set of propositions expressing a concern the speaker is addressing. This notion is closely concerned with speech acts. Each representative or directive in a discourse has a specific discourse topic. It may be the case that the same discourse topic is sustained over an exchange of two or more utterances. These exchanges can be described as topic-collaborating moves. On the other hand, the discourse topic may change from utterance to utterance, sometimes drawing on the previous utterance (topic-continuing move), and sometimes introducing a new topic (topic-initiating move). The conversational analysis makes it possible to focus on how topics develop in terms of topic-continuing moves per topic-initiating move. This is one way to count "information bits" exchanged from topic to topic (Arthur et. al., 1980).

5. Turn-taking

One of the basic facts of conversational interaction is that the roles of speaker and listener change. The turn-taking system is not the major concern of this study, but plays an important role in the analysis of conversational data, since topic-initiating and topic-continuing moves are closely related to the turn-taking system.

The first problem is to deal with overlaps during conversational interactions. Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson

(1974) suggest that an underlying rule in English conversation is that at least and not more than one person speaks at a time, and that the system for allotting turns works only one turn at a time. This is not an empirical fact, however, because there are obviously many instances of short pauses and short overlaps. Their suggestion may be rather a normative or observably oriented to the feature of conversation.

Turn-taking usually takes place at the end of utterance. If the next speaker has been selected, the next speaker will take over at the end of the utterance during which the selection is made. If the current speaker has not been selected, any participant may self-select at the end of any utterance. Thus, a speaker is vulnerable at every utterance completion whether he selects the next speaker or not, and if he gets past one utterance completion he is equally vulnerable at the end of the next utterance.

If more than two persons are talking, it is noticeable that participants set out to remedy the situation and return to a state of "one and only one speaker" (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson, 1974). If the problem is more than one speaker, one of the participants usually quickly yields the floor, as in the following example:

(12) a. NS1: But-but xxx, he's nice if you
talk to him personally. When he
whenever the teacher goes, "xxx,
sit down," he'd always go, "oooh,"

or something like that (.)
That's [what he's complaining.]
b. NS2: [That's just for atten]tion,
you know.
c. NS1: He's got enough. (2x)
d. NNS1: He-he want (s) some more.
That's what (he) told me.
(T# 21)

In the example (12), the speaker in line (a) is vulnerable at every utterance completion whether she selects the next speaker or not, and even if she completes another utterance, she is equally vulnerable at the end of the next utterance. The next speaker can begin as soon as a current speaker has reached a possible completion. Thus, the speaker in line (b) starts her utterance at a turn where she thinks the speaker in line (a) completes at the end of the second utterance. Thus unintentional overlaps occur, mainly caused by self-selection. In this case, the speaker's utterance in line (b) could be counted as a topic-continuing move. The overlapping problem in conversation is usually remedied quickly by one of the speakers yielding the floor. This fact explains in part the relatively low incidence of overlaps in the conversational data.

The ability to come into a turn as soon as a speaker has reached a possible completion requires a high degree of skill on the part of participants. They have to analyze and understand an on-going discourse in order to recognize when it is possibly complete, and also to produce immediately a relevant next utterance. Grice (1975), for instance, outlined "Cooperative Principles" which govern conversational interaction. This explains in part why participants negotiate for meaning ,especially in a foreigner-talk discourse (Schwartz, 1980).

Since the verbal interaction between native speaker and non-native speaker characterizes unequal language competence, silence between turns creates another problem. Moreover, participants feel that a silence is attributable, usually to some intended speaker. Schegloff and Sacks (1973) observe that there is a very low tolerance of silence between turns. If the intended next speaker does not begin, the previous speaker is likely to produce an utterance which is either a question, or a marked repetition of his utterance as in the following example:

(13) a. NNS: Okay, last summer-no-two years ago
okay, two-two years ago (.)
b. NS: Was it in Alberta?
c. NNS: No. Uhm in the summer (laughter)
like (.) that begins uhm (.) okay.
d. NS: We are waiting.
(T# 3)

In the example (13), the native speaker in (b) was not able to obtain any new information, and thus noticed the silence in line (d). However, the native speaker in (b) tried to negotiate with the non-native speaker for meaning in line (b). The non-native speaker in (a) collaborated on in line (c), but failed in providing what he had intended to say. To avoid silence, speakers who have not yet uttered what they wanted to say tend to indicate their intention to speak by "uh," "uhm," or conversational fillers, such as "okay," "let's see," etc., and thus incorporate the silence into their turn, as seen in (13). A variety of devices were found especially in the non-native speakers' utterances. These devices provided some clue for the analysis of data, with the focus on negotiation works for meaning.

The third problem is what constitutes a turn. While most analysts accept that the kinesic mode of agreement and murmurs of assent do not count, there are some important differences of opinion. Duncan (1974) uses the term "back channel behavior" to cover contributions which do not constitute a turn but which provide the speaker with useful information as his turn progresses.

Duncan's (1974) main concern is to describe speaker change, and for this purpose it may be sufficient to categorize all utterances as either "back channels or "turns." However, for those interested in describing the stuctural relations between native and non-native speaker interaction, "back-channeling styles" are another area to conduct intensive research, since "back-channeling styles," as Hatch and Long (1980) put it, differ for different social, cultural, and linguistic groups (p.31).

For the purpose of this study, turns to speak are defined as including topic-initiating, topic-collaborating, and topic-continuing moves in order to count "information bits".

E. Rationale for the Study

In recent research, some attention has been paid to features of the interaction between native and non-native speakers, that is, "foreigner-talk discourse" (Hatch, 1978; Hatch, Shapira, and Gough, 1978; Larsen-Freeman, 1980). This study is to investigate the nature of input that L2 learners receive inside and outside the classroom. The research has attempted to find some insight into the possible relationships among linguistic input, interaction, and second language acquisition.

One way to investigate the nature of the L2 input to the learner, as Long (1981) assumes, is to describe the interactional structure of conversation of teacher talk, peer talk, and non-native learner talk.

Since foreigner talk is essentially the manipulation of input to give meaning, those issues on the foreigner-talk discourse have instructional repercussions. It would be helpful to know, for instance, which features of the foreigner-talk registers are more important for linguistic growth. Does the teacher's elaboration of the L2 learner's speech assist learning? How far beyond the learner's competence does the teacher or the peer go and still have the input accepted? What input is not processed or, if processed, not utilized?

This study is to focus on the verbal interactions between teacher talk, age-peer talk (native child - non-native child), and non-native speaker talk (NNS-talk). Though the discourse between non-native speakers themselves has not been reported very much in the L2 literature, an analysis and comparison will be made on the different types of interactions, because NNS talk may also constitute language input to the learners, in that this input is comprehensible and abundant in the process of SLA (Pica & Doughty, 1983, p. 1; Schwartz, 1980). The extent to which interactions of different types of discourse do or do not differ in this respect is an issue of relevance to the investigation of the SLA process. It is possible, for instance, that differences in the discourse structure of teacher talk, age-peer talk, and NNS talk will be of great help to predict differences in other linguistic domains, such as, the syntactic and morphological. Thus, speech modification should be looked at not only in terms of linguistic input, per se (length and syntactic complexity of utterances, lexical diversity, etc.), but also in terms of the interactional structure of conversation with non-native speakers.

For example, English marks simple past on the auxiliary (did) in questions and on the main verb in statements. This means that learners of ESL are likely to hear the unmarked infinitive form far more frequently than native speakers when directives are used more than representatives (statements) in their speech acts. Differences in these domains may in turn result in varying relative frequencies of certain linguistic forms in the sample of the target language to which L2 learners are exposed. It has been suggested that differences in input frequencies may be related to the order in which certain grammatical structures appear in the linguistic output of L2 learners from a variety of first language backgrounds (Krashen,1977;1978; Larsen-Freeman, 1976; Hatch,1974). However, their suggestion has been made based on cross-sectional output data without examining their relation to other utterances in conversational interactions.

Finally, if, as Corder (1967), Krashen (1978), and Hatch (1979) have argued, the relevant data for SLA are to be found in that subset of language input which is comprehensible to the learner, then certain predictions can be made concerning the relationships between the frequency of linguistic items in comprehensible input and the order in which these items will be acquired by the learner.

1. Research Hypotheses

Inferences like these lead to the following hypotheses which will be tested through conversational data analysis.

Hypothesis 1: Different types of conversational interactions will result in the different use of speech acts, and thus varying relative frequencies of certain grammatical morphemes.

Hypothesis 2: Different interactional structures of conversation will result in the different use of attention-getting devices, negotiation works, and clarification devices.

Hypothesis 3: Input frequencies may be related to the order in which certain morphemes appear in the linguistic output of the ESL learners.

More specifically, this study will make an in-depth description of the use of speech acts including questions, statements, and imperatives. They are assumed to represent an effort to exchange comprehensible input in terms of negotiation works between native and non-native speakers. This is one way to investigate basic characteristics of teacher talk, age-peer talk, and non-native speaker talk which may determine formal linguistic features in conversational interacations.

2. Research Questions

As mentioned earlier, conversational analysis looks at the corpus as a whole, that is, input and output data in the context where verbal interactions take place. This would enable the researcher to look at how oral language input is exchanged. As Long (1981) points out, comprehensible input in this study is referred to as NS speech addressed to the learner during conversational interaction which is marked by the modifications associated with the foreigner-talk discourse. The following questions were selected to test the research hypotheses and serve as guidelines for this exploratory study.

The interactional structure of conversation may result in the different use of speech acts which may characterize the verbal interaction between native and non-native speakers. Research question 1 is related to hypotheses 1 and 2, providing measures of some basic characteristics of interactional structures involved in teacher talk, age-peer talk, and non-native speaker talk. Research question 2 is related to hypothesis 3, focusing on formal linguistic features of morphological domains, since the different use of speech acts may be related to relative frequencies of certain linguistic forms. Each question is subdivided to examine research hypotheses in detail.

Question 1. What are the strategies and devices used by native and non-native speakers in conversational interactions?

1.1 How do conversational partners develop topics in the foreigner-talk discourse?

1.2 What devices do they use in order to get attention in providing modified speech input?

A. Proportions of topic-initiating moves formed by questions, statements, and imperatives

B. Proportions of framed utterances

C. Proportions of self-repetitions

D. Proportions of confirmation devices

1.3 How do conversational partners simplify their language in order to make their message more comprehensible?

A. Mean number of utterances in each speaking turn

B. Mean number of words in each utterance

C. Mean number of s-nodes embedded in each utterance

Question 2. How do any differences in frequencies of interactional structures affect morphological features of the language used?

2.1 What are the frequency orders for the non-native speakers' accurate production of morphemes in obligatory contexts?

2.2 Is there any relationship between the relative frequencies of structures in oral input and the order in which L2 learners produce specific morphemes accurately in obligatory contexts?

2.3 Do input frequencies play a more important role than do opportunities for practice in obligatory contexts?

V. Research Design

In order to explore fully the research questions, this study used a longitudinal data collection as outlined in Brown (1973) for child first language development. The distinguishing feature that separates this data collection from a cross-sectional method is the collection of rich speech samples from a small number of subjects (Dulay and Burt, 1974). A longitudinal data collection involves collecting large amounts of speech at weekly intervals from a small number of children over a longer period in a natural setting. The data collection for this study is longitudinal.

A cross-sectional design, outlined by Dulay and Burt (1974), is one where language data are collected from a relatively large sample of learners at one point in their language development (cited in Dulay, et al.,1982, p.246). This study, as mentioned in the previous sections, will look at the corpus as a whole in a natural setting and examine interactional structures of conversation in order to see how those interactions determine speech modification and how they show language functions evolving in a single speech situation. The data analysis of this study is cross-sectional.

In addition, when the results of this study are taken together with the findings from other longitudinal or cross-sectional studies, such research becomes an invaluable part of the data base used in formulating principles of language learning (Dulay, et al., 1982, p.246). The result of this study, for instance, will be compared with Krashen's aggregated difficulty order of morpheme acquisition produced by output data on the basis of a cross-sectional design (1977).

A. Language Elicitation Techniques

Elicitation tasks refer to the manner in which the language is elicited from the subjects by the researcher. In selecting elicitation tasks, two dimensions are considered: "linguistic manipulation tasks" and "natural communication tasks" (Dulay, et al., 1982, p.247).

A linguistic manipulation task focuses the student's attention on performing the conscious linguistic manipulation required by the task. For example, asking a speaker to transform "No one was there" into a yes/no question requires manipulation of the elements in the sentence. The activity in itself does not serve any communicative function for the subject. Rather, the subject is consciously focusing on the linguistic rules required to perform the operation requested, and activity which is rarely a part of natural communication.

This task may permit the researcher to make statements concerning the student's meta-linguistic awareness, that is, the conscious knowledge and manipulation of the rules and forms of a language. Clearly, the ability to think about language as an abstract entity and to make cross-linguistic comparison is manifested in the familiar strategy of avoidance (Schachter, 1974; Kleinmann, 1977; Gass, 1983). However, the data collected by this task may not be able to explain interactional structures of natural conversation.

A natural communication task is one where the focus of the student is on communicating an idea or opinion rather than on the language forms themselves. In such situations, the speaker subconsciously uses the acquired grammar rules to convey the message (Krashen, 1981, p.1). A natural communication task is again divided into two domains: "structured communication" and "unstructured communication." In the former, the researcher has the intention of eliciting a specific structure. For example, a question such as "Why do you think he is so fat?" (in BSM by Dulay & Burt, 1974) elicits an opinion or idea from the student which is directed towards that specific situation. The student typically responds with little, if any, conscious focus on linguistic form (Krashen, 1981, p.1). This task was widely used in the studies of natural acquisition order (Dulay & Burt, 1974; Bailey, Madden, and Krashen, 1974; Kessler & Idar, 1977; Makino, 1980). This task, however, is not enough to explain the "natural" flow of speech in discourse, for the researcher is always in the position of topic-initiation, and language input is not taken into account at all in data analysis.

The unstructured communication task is one where there is no intention to elicit specific structures; rather, natural conversation among subjects or between subject and researcher is elicited (Dulay & Burt,1978,p.187). This researcher audio recorded natural conversation between subjects - teacher, native child, and non-native learner. In longitudinal studies, the unstructured tasks have been commonly used, often in combination with some structured communication tasks (Dulay, et al.,1982, p.27). In fact, the natural setting has particular implication in this study (e.g., Long, 1980, p,37), since SLA should be processed in the context of verbal interaction. The stance taken by this study mainly relied on the unstructured communication task in order to investigate how comprehensible input was exchanged via interactional structures of conversation.

B. Method

1. Procedure

The researcher attended the ESL class at a community school of the Edmonton Public School System in Alberta once a week during the 1982-3 academic year. This residence in the field comprised two periods: observation and data collection. The observation period covered the first term from September to December in 1982, and its main purpose was to establish good rapport with the subjects. As Le Compte and Goetz (1982) put it, sufficient residence in the field helps to reduce artificial response and omit irrelevant data, especially in conversational interactions (p. 46). Another purpose was to build a collaborative relationship in which the conversational participants felt and understood that they are in a situation where they interact in some way. This period, as Gorden (1980) puts it, led to the establishment of a relationship in which the subjects felt free to talk about topics of their own choice.

The actual data collection for this study started at the onset of the second term of 1983 and continued for twenty-one weeks until the end of May in 1983.

2. Subjects

The ESL class had five Korean immigrant children (1 female, 4 male) of the ages 11 to 12, and also included nine ESL students of approximately the same age but with different first language backgrounds. The Korean subjects had been in the ESL class for about 9 to 19 months when data collection started in the second term. They seemed to have passed the "silent period" (Krashen, 1982, p.26).

In addition, three children of native English-speaking proficiency were selected from the same ethnic group, who were of similar age and on good terms with the Korean subjects. Two of them had emigrated to Canada when they were about three years old. The other one was born in Canada. None of them were able to speak Korean, and their speaking was severely limited to a few routines or memorized patterns of the Korean language. They were all girls in the regular school program; that is, separated from the ESL class in the same school. It was assumed that they would supply more feedback on the topic, and in addtion, would help the Korean female subject feel more comfortable in conversational interactions.

The ESL teacher in this study had been teaching ESL for several years. She was told that any normal class activities were of interest to the researcher, and that she should not depart from her regular syllabus or lesson plans for the day because of the recording.

3. Data Collection

The ESL Classroom Data (Teacher Talk)

A complete lesson was tape-recorded for each session of data collection, constituting 7 hours of the classroom instruction. Analyses were conducted using the sound tapes and/or transcripts, as needed. The recorded lessons that made up the corpus seemed to the researcher to be typical of ESL instruction. The teacher did not adhere to any of the recent "unconventional" language teaching methods, such as Silent Way (Gattegno, 1972), Total Physical Response (Asher, 1972), Natural Approach (Terrell, 1978), Counseling-Learning (Curran, 1972). Rather, she could be described as using a variety of techniques and activities found in much audio-lingual, audio-visual, and structural-situational language teaching. She based most of her oral work on text-book exercises, prepared dialogues, and other teacher-made material.

Conversational Data (Age-peer Talk and NNS Talk)

The conversational data consisted of two categories: age-peer talk and NNS talk. Age-peer talk is referred to as the verbal interaction between age-peer native speakers and non-native speakers in the informal situation. This talk was conducted after class hours for about an hour on a biweekly basis. The subjects were encouraged to talk freely and spontaneously on any topic of their choice. Non-native speaker talk, in other words, "interlanguage talk" (Corder, 1978), was also conducted for the same amount of time on a biweekly basis. From each type of interaction, seven hours of conversational data were collected. The subjects knew they were being tape-recorded. Tapes were later transcribed by four Canadians with at least a bachelor's degree and the researcher himself. Analyses were conducted using the sound tapes and/or transcripts, as needed.

With regard to the transcripts of conversational data, those verbal interactions which included conversational structures for meaning, and which were responded to appropriately by the non-native speakers were transcribed in order to get closer to their comprehension.

C. Data Analysis

Conversational data were analyzed to provide preliminary answers to the following hypotheses restated from chapter 4.

Hypothesis 1: Different types of conversational interactions may result in the different use of speech acts, and thus varying relative frequencies of certain grammatical morphemes.

Hypothesis 2: Different interactional structures of conversation may result in the different use of attention-getting devices, negotiation works, and clarification devices.

Hypothesis 3: Input frequencies may be related to the order in which certain morphemes appear in the linguistic output of the ESL learners.

In order to test these hypotheses, the following analyses were conducted:

1. mean number of topic continuing-moves to a topic-initiating move
2. proportions of topic-initiating moves formed by questions, statements, imperatives
3. proportions of topic-initiating moves formed by uninverted (intonation), wh-, yes/no, and tag questions
4. proportions of framed utterances to total t-units addressed to NNSs
5. mean number of self-repetition to total t-units and fragments addressed to NNSs
6. mean number of confirmation checks, comprehension checks, and clarification requests to total t-units

and fragments addressed to NNSs

7. simplicity of the utterances addressed to NNSs

8. relative frequencies and accuracy orders of nine grammatical morphemes

9. the rank order correlation coefficients between the morpheme frequency orders in (1) the age-peer NS and (2) the NNS accuracy order, and (3) Krashen's (1977) aggregated morpheme production order for learners of ESL

Analyses 1 through 7 were to test hypotheses 1 and 2. The results of these analyses were intended to provide measures of some basic characteristics of foreigner-talk discourse (FTD). Analyses 8 through 9 were to test hypothesis 3 concerning formal linguistic features.

Analyses 1, 2, and 3 were each conducted on a sample of 50 consecutive topic-initiating moves, plus the topic-continuing moves elicited by different types of conversational interaction; that is, teacher talk, age-peer talk, and non-native speaker talk. Where the transcription procedures made any topic-initiating moves ambiguous, those cases were discounted, and the following sets of initiating and continuing moves were coded until 50 such sets were obtained. However, in order to make results from different conversational interactions comparable, only those topic-initiating moves contained in t-units were counted.

Analysis 1

Analysis 1 was intended to ascertain the information exchanged about topics. This was concerned with the relative brevity of what Arthur et al., (1980) called "information bits." The distribution of "information bits" would help to determine the nature of different types of discourse.

Analysis 2

Analysis 2 was to determine the degree to which directive and representative functions of language were used for topic-initiating purposes. Since directives normally require a response from the listener, they involve the hearer's active attention. In fact, in many cases they are explicit questions or imperatives to notice or attend to some object (Keenan, Schieffelin ,and Platt, 1977). This anaysis would show whether native speakers attempted to make topic-initiating moves salient more often through the use of directives (questions and imperatives) rather than representatives (statements). Directive functions of language have been assumed to be cognitively more salient than representative functions of language, since the former is more readily identifiable and easier to understand (Halliday, 1975; Ervin-Tripp, 1978).

Analysis 3

Analysis 3 was to determine the types of questions used for topic-initiations as well as the relative frequencies of these types. Questions have been frequently assumed to lighten the interlocutor's conversational burden because they encode part or, in some cases, all of the propositional content that it would normally be the second speaker's job to formulate in his or her utterance preceded by a statement. This inference would lead to the prediction of a large number of yes/no questions in foreigner-talk discourse. For instance, yes/no questions, such as "Did you check it out from the library?" (T# 21), are complete propositions which need only to confirm or deny with a simple "Yes," or "No," while wh-questions, such as "What do you have in your socks? (T# 20), are incomplete propositions, requiring provision of a missing information (Robinson and Rackstraw, 1972). Analysis 3 would determine whether this inference is true or not. If not, what are the other factors which operated to maintain the overall majority of wh-questions in topic-initiating moves? It might be concerned with making language input more salient in a cognitive sense.

Analysis 4

This analysis would focus on attention-getting devices, which were assumed to make one's utterance easy to segment and thus attended to (Scarcella and Higa, 1981). The initial review of oral transcripts showed that framed utterances were a feature of conversational data, as Long (1981) and Scarcella and Higa (1981) have reported. These framed utterances would facilitate the learner's comprehension, by focusing on the message conveyed in the form of language. The distribution of framed utterances would differ depending upon the nature of different discourses. The difference would be related to the degree of comprehensibility.

Analysis 5

Analysis 5 was intended to reveal self-initiated repetition which was assumed to alleviate a potential "trouble source" (Schwartz, 1980) for the listener. Self-initiated repetition is perhaps the most difficult category to perceive as negotiated interaction because the speaker does not overtly confer with the listener. However, any interaction with another person involves attempting to understand and to be understood. This means that the speaker would frame and re-code concepts which are potential trouble sources for the listener. In other words, when the trouble source involved was a matter of comprehensibility in syntax, lexicon, or phonology, the interlocutors used repetition, as Schegloff, Jefferson, and Sacks (1977) have observed in their research (p.33). In this way, the speaker negotiates what he says, keeping in mind the requirement for understanding on the part of the hearer.

Self-initiated repetition for the analysis of this study included, partial, exact, and semantic repetitions of the speaker to help the listener to comprehend the language input. Therefore, this analysis was conducted on the total number of t-units and fragments responded to by the non-native speakers.

Analysis 6

Analysis 6 was to reveal part of the feedback information involved in determining the comprehension of the non-native speaker. When the speaker was not certain whether hearers attended to or understood his talk, he sometimes elicited feedback by using some devices, such as confirmation checks, comprehension checks, and clarification requests (Long and Sato, 1983). The non-native speaker is made aware of the success or failure of his or her communicative performance. This analysis would provide additional evidence for negotiation works in the foreigner-talk discourse (Schwartz, 1980), but the strategies for clarification devices, including confirmation checks, comprehension checks, and clarification requests, might be different depending upon the nature of various discourse. This analysis was conducted on the whole t-units and fragments. In this case, neither the topic nor the turn-taking sequence is changed because of the device for the feedback information sequence, since the context for the request is the prior linguistic context (Freedle, 1978, p.274).

On the basis of Long's classification (1980, p.81-83), the following definitions were applied to the analysis of clarification devices.

1. Confirmation Checks

These devices involve exact or semantic, complete or partial repetition of the previous speaker's utterance. They are frequently encoded as either yes/no or uninverted (rising intonation) questions, and serve either to elicit confirmation that their user had heard and/or understood the previous speaker's utterance correctly or to dispel that belief.

(14) S: The green line is five kilometer long.
T: It's five what?
S: Ah ha, centimeters (2x)
(T# 1)

As in example (14), confirmation checks are intended to lead to the self-initiated correction of the previous utterance.

2. Comprehension Checks

These are any expressions by a native speaker designed to establish whether that speaker's preceding utterance has been understood by the interlocutor. They are typically formed by tag questions, by repetitions of all or part of the same speaker's preceding utterance with rising intonation, or by utterances like, "Do you understand?", which explicitly check comprehension by the interlocutor.

(15) T: What are you going to do
for this top part?
S1: what?
S2: Oh, color.
T: Do you understand?

Are you listening?

(T# 2)

3. Clarification Requests

These requests are any expressions by a native speaker intended to elicit clarification of the interlocutor's preceding utterance. They are mostly formed by questions, but may consist of yes/no or wh-questions as well as uninverted (rising intonation) and tag questions, because they require that the interlocutor either furnish new information or recode information previously given. Unlike confirmation checks, in other words, the use of clarification requests implies no presupposition on the speaker's part that he or she has heard and understood the interlocutor's previous utterance. In example (16), the second utterance of the teacher is a clarification request.

(16) T: Now(.), here is something else
you can think about .
What is he to this funny looking
lady, xxx?
S: Husband.
T: They have two children, alright?

(T# 6)

Analyses 7 through 9 were concerned with formal linguistic features of the syntactic and morphological domains. For these analyses of linguistic domains, only those elements contained in t-units were counted.

Analysis 7

What needs first to be determined for analysis 7 is exactly what constitutes simplification of a complex code in the foreigner-talk discourse (FTD). As mentioned in Chapter 3, measures of linguistic simplicity are extremely controversial issues to discuss, since there exists the conflict between simplification in the linguistic sense and simplication in the cognitive sense.

Thus, for lack of a constant and adequate measure of linguistic and cognitive simplicity (Chaudron, 1983), the analysis for this study focused on those characteristics of the FTD most widely discussed in the literature of discourse analysis: mean number of t-units per turn, mean number of words per t-unit, and mean number of s-nodes per t-unit. The calculation of s-nodes in each utterance was performed on the basis of Soames and Perlmutter (1979).[2] With this in mind, cognitive simplicity would be discussed in terms of simplification of speech acts which appeared to have a close relationships to analyses 2 and 3. Each mean number was calculated as follows:

$$\text{Mean number of t-units per turn} = \frac{\text{total t-units}}{\text{total turns}}$$

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[2] The devices that have been used by generative grammarians to produce underlying structures are phrase structure rules. For instance, the phrase structure rule, $S \rightarrow NP\ VP$, expands S into NP and VP. Application of the phrase structure rule to the initial symbol S produces the structure in which an s-node dominates an NP-node and a VP-node. Thus, the structure underlying, "Margaret believes that Harold is flawless," has two s-nodes (p.26-28).

$$\text{Mean number of words per t-unit} = \frac{\text{total words}}{\text{total t-units}}$$

$$\text{Mean number of s-nodes per t-unit} = \frac{\text{total s-nodes}}{\text{total t-units}}$$

Analyses 8 and 9 focused on the relationships between relative frequencies and the order in which non-native speakers produce the nine grammatical morphemes[3] accurately in obligatory contexts.

Most verbal utterances that consist of more than one morpheme create occasions where certain morphemes are required. For example, in the utterance "She is dancing" a mature native speaker of English would never omit the morpheme "-ing," because it is obligatory that "-ing" be attached to any verb in English when expressing a present progressive action. When learners of ESL speak English, they will create obligatory occasions for morphemes in their utterances, but they may not furnish the required forms (Dulay and Burt, 1974, p.353).

Analysis 8

Analysis 8 was performed on the entire corpus of the the age-peer talk to compare the difficulty order of non-native speakers with Krashen's (1977) average order. The criteria for morpheme analysis are given in figure 4, which

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[3] Grammatical morphemes used in this study are equivalent to grammatical functors defined by R. Brown (1973). In most morpheme studies, morphemes are frequently referred to as grammatical functors.

Figure 4 Nine English Morphemes

Morphemes	Structures	Examples
Article	$(\text{Prep})\text{-Det-}(\text{Adj})\text{-}\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{N}\\ \text{Pro}\pm\text{Poss}\end{matrix}\right\}(\text{N})$	in the house
Copula	$\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{NP}\\ \text{Pro}\end{matrix}\right\}\text{-(be)-}\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{Adj}\\ \text{NP}\end{matrix}\right\}$	He's good.
ing	$\left(\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{NP}\\ \text{Pro}\end{matrix}\right\}\right)\text{-(be)-V+ing}$	He's studying.
Plural	N+pl	windows houses
Auxiliary	$\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{NP}\\ \text{Pro}\end{matrix}\right\}\text{-be-V+ing}$	She's dancing.
Regular	$\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{NP}\\ \text{Pro}\end{matrix}\right\}\text{-(have)-V+pst-}\left(\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{NP}\\ \text{Pro}\end{matrix}\right\}\right)$	He closed it.
Irregular	$\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{NP}\\ \text{Pro}\end{matrix}\right\}\text{-(have)-V+pst-}\left(\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{NP}\\ \text{Pro}\end{matrix}\right\}\right)$	He stole it.
Possessive	(Det)-(Adj)-N+poss-(N)	the king's
3rd person sing	$\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{NP}\\ \text{Pro+sing}\end{matrix}\right\}\text{-V+tns-(Adj)}$	He likes hockey.

Prep: preposition, Det: definite or indefinite article
Adj: adjective, N: noun, Pro: pronoun, Poss: possessive,
NP: noun phrase, pl: plural, V+pst: V+past morpheme,
Pro+sing: she or he, V+tns: 3rd person singular morpheme

were taken from Dulay and Burt (1974, p.351).

The accuracy score for each morpheme was counted exactly as in Krashen (1977). The number of times each morpheme was used correctly in obligatory contexts was divided by the total number of contexts requiring its use in the non-native speaker's speech, and Krashen's (1977) aggregated morpheme production order for learners of ESL was compared with this.

Analysis 9

For analysis 9, Spearman rank order correlation coefficients were calculated between the morpheme frequency orders established in analysis 8 and Krashen's (1977) "average order" for the acquisition of English morphemes. This analysis was intended to determine the relationship between the morpheme frequency orders of the native speakers and the accuracy order of the non-native speakers in the age-peer talk.

A comparison could also be made on the relationship between morpheme frequency order of the native speaker in the obligatory contexts and Krashen's (1977) "average order," to determine whether input frequency plays a more important role than do opportunities for use in obligatory contexts in the process of SLA.

VI. Results and Discussion

A. Results

This chapter contains the results and discussion of the study, and is organized as follows. Each research hypothesis is restated from chapter 4, and the results of the related analyses are displayed in tables for further discussion. Each table is followed by the major findings which will serve to test the research hypotheses and thus to provide preliminary answers for the research questions, with the focus on quantitative explanation.

Hypothesis 1: Conversational interactions of different types of discourse may result in the different use of speech acts, and thus varying relative frequencies of certain grammatical morphemes.

Data for research hypothesis 1 are contained in tables 1 through 3.

1. Topic Development

Table 1
Mean number of topic-continuing to topic-initiating moves

Move	T - T	AP - T	NNS - T
T-initiating	50	50	50
T-continuing	353	195	222
mean	7.06	3.90	4.44
SD	4.44	1.88	1.86

T - T: teacher's utterances in the teacher-NNS interaction
AP -T: age-peer native speakers' utterances in the age-peer native and non-native interaction

NNS-T: non-native speakers' utterance in NNS-NNS interactions
(These abbreviations were used in all Tables.)

Table 1-1
ANOVA for topic continuing moves

SV	ss	df	MS	F
Between groups	285.69	2	142.85	16.14**
Within groups	1031.64	147	8.85	

** p<.01

Table 1-2
Sheffé Test

	T - T mean=7.06	AP - T mean=3.90	NNS- T mean=4.44
T - T		14.10**	9.69**
AP -T			0.41

**p<.01

Table 1 shows topic-continuing moves in random samples of 50 discourse segments, each of which was dealing with one topic. Also included in Table 1 are the means, standard deviations, and sample size for the two types of moves. Table 1-1 displays the results of an analysis of variance test in order to make a statistical test of the difference of topic-continuing moves among the three corpora. Table 1-2 shows the Scheffé test for post hoc comparisons (Hatch and Farhady, 1982, p.143) in order to determine which pairs of sample means were significantly different among three corpora.

As shown in Table 1-1, the result of the ANOVA test displays that the mean number of topic-continuing moves per topic-initiation by the speakers of the three corpora was significantly different at the .01 level (F=16.14). Table

1-2 shows that the mean number of topic-continuing moves by the teacher was significantly different from that of both age-peer native speakers and non-native speakers, at the .01 level (X^2 =14.10, X^2 =9.69, respectively). On the other hand, the mean number of topic-continuing moves of age-peer native speakers was not significantly different from that of non-native speakers.

2. Questions, Statements, and Imperatives in Topic-initiating Moves

Table 2
Proportions of topic-initiating moves
formed by questions, statements, imperatives

	Questions		Statements		Imperatives	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
T - T	34	68	3	6	13	26
AP -T	33	66	16	32	1	2
NNS-T	27	54	23	46	-	-

$X^2 = 33.5$ df=4 $p<.001$

Table 2 demonstrates the number and proportion of topic-initiating moves in each corpus which were encoded in questions, statements, and imperatives. The fifty topic-initiating moves coded for the teacher, age-peer native speaker, and non-native speaker were those used in analysis 1. As evidenced in Table 2, the difference in the distribution of forms used for the purpose of topic-initiation was significant among the three corpora at the .001 level (X^2 =33.5, df=4).

The question was the most preferred form in all kinds of discourse, but it is remarkable that the teacher encoded the imperative form with relative frequency for the topic-initiating purpose, resulting in 26 % of all topic-initiations. In contrast, both age-peer native speakers and non-native speakers preferred statements to imperatives for the topic-initiation, resulting in non-occurrence of imperatives except once in the topic-initiation of an age-peer native speaker. The teacher used only 6% statements for the topic-initating purpose.

3. Forms of Questions in Topic-initiating Moves

Table 3
Proportions of topic-intiating moves
formed by uninverted (intonation),
wh, yes/no, and tag question

	Uninverted		Wh		yes/no		Tag	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
T - T	4	12	17	50	9	26	4	12
AP -T	10	30	12	36	11	34	-	-
NNS-T	6	22	13	48	8	30	-	-

$X^2 = 11.5$ df=6 $p > .05$, NS

Using the same samples analyzed in analyses 1 and 2 above, topic-initiating moves encoded as questions were further studied to determine the types of questions used, as well as the relative frequencies of those types. The results of this analysis are shown in Table 3. Wh-questions were most frequently used in all types of interaction, constituting 50 %, 36 %, and 48 % of topic-initiations in the teacher, age-peer native speaker, and non-native speaker talk, respectively. Yes/no questions were the second most preferred forms used for the three corpora. While differences among three kinds of interactions were marked, differences in their proportional use were not statistically significant ($X^2 = 11.5$, df=6, $p > .05$).

Hypothesis 2: Different structures of discourse may result in the different use of negotiating works to get attention from the listener. Data for this hypothesis are contained in Tables 4 through 7.

4. Framed Constructions in T-units

Table 4
Proportions of framed utterances
to total t-units addressed to NNSs

	T - T	AP - T	NNS - T
Framed t-units	396	224	850
Total t-units	729	706	1789
%	51	32	48

($X^2 = 64.09$ df=2 $p < .001$)
T - T x A.P - T $X^2 = 52.78$, df=1, $p < .001$
T - T x NNS - T $X^2 = 1.99$, df=1, $p > .05$ NS
AP- T x NNS - T $X^2 = 51.45$, df=1, $p < .001$

Table 4 shows the number and proportion of framed utterances per total utterances in each corpus. The proportion of framed utterances used by the teacher and the non-native speakers was significantly greater than that used by age-peer speakers, constituting 51 %, 48 %, and 32 % of total utterances, respectively. It is remarkable that among the three kinds of conversational interactions, age-peer native speakers framed their utterances least frequently.

Differences in their proportional use of framed condtructions were statistically significant (X^2 =64.09, df=2, p<.001).

5. Self-initiated Repetition

Table 5
Mean number of self-initiated repetition
to total t-units addressed to NNSs

	T - T	AP - T	NNS- T
Self-repetition	141	122	489
Total t-units	729	706	1789
%	19	17	27

(X^2 = 26.74 df=2 p<.001)
T - T x A.P- T X^2 = 1.02, df=1, p>.05 NS
T - T x NNS- T X^2 =17.64, df=1, p<.001
AP -T x NNS- T X^2 =27.67, df=1, p<.001

As shown in Table 5, there was a tendency for speakers to repeat their utterances which they themselves had said before, when interacting with non-native speakers. Table 5 demonstrates the number and proportion of self-initiated repetitions per total t-units in each corpus. Self-repetition occurred most frequently in the NNS-NNS interaction. The proportional differences of self-repetitions between the teacher and age-peer native speakers were not statistically significant (X^2 =1.02, df=1, p>.05).

6. Confirmation Checks, Comprehension Checks, and Clarification Reqests

Table 6 shows the total number and percentage of confirmation checks, comprehension checks, and clarification requests per total t-units and fragments in each corpus, which were addressed to non-native speakers. Clarification requests were most frequently used by the teacher, while non-native speakers preferred confirmation checks, constituting 29.3 %, and 17.5 % of total t-units and fragments in the teacher talk and non-native speaker talk, respectively. Age-peer native speakers used confirmation checks and clarification requests at a very similar proportion, resulting in 10 % and 11.9 %, respectively. It is striking that there was little, almost no occurrence of comprehension checks in the entire corpora. The differences in the proportional use of confirmation checks, comprehension checks, and clarification requests among the three corpora were statistically significant ($X^2 = 221.14$, df=4, $p<.001$).

Table 6
Mean number of confirmation checks, comprehension checks, and clarification requests to total t-units and fragments addressed to NNSs

	T - T mean	%	AP - T mean	%	NNS - T mean	%
confirmation	59/841	7.0	80/804	10.0	340/1946	17.5
comprehension	3/841	0.4	-	-	-	-
clarification	246/841	29.3	96/804	11.9	206/1946	10.6

($X^2 = 221.14$ df=6 $p<.001$
T-T:confirmationxclarification $X^2=140.1$ df=1 $p<.001$
NNS-T:confirmationxclarification $X^2= 38.3$ df=1 $p<.001$

7. Linguistic Simplification

Table 7 shows the mean number of t-units per turn, mean number of words per t-unit, and mean number of s-nodes per t-unit for each corpus. Table 7-1 contains the means and standard deviations of utterances in each turn. Table 7-2 shows the results of the one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA),

Table 7
Simplification in the speech
addressed to NNSs

	T - T mean	AP - T mean	NNS - T mean
A	729/379=1.92	706/393=1.79	1789/1147=1.56
B	5578/729=7.56	3711/706=5.26	8708/1789=4.87
C	986/729=1.35	822/706=1.16	2037/1789=1.14

A = mean number of t-units per turn
B = mean number of words per t-unit
C = mean number of s-nodes per t-unit

Table 7-1
Mean number of t-units per turn

	T - T	AP - T	NNS - T
mean	1.92	1.79	1.56
SD	1.49	1.74	1.20

Table 7-2
ANOVA TEST

SV	SS	df	MS	F
Between groups	44.39	2	22.19	11.56**
Within groups	3689.15	1916	1.92	

**p<.01

showing that the differences in the mean number of t-units per turn among the three corpora were statistically significant at the level .01 (F ratio = 11.56). Table 7-3

Table 7-3
Scheffé Test

	T - T	AP - T	NNS - T
mean	1.92	1.79	1.56
T - T		0.85	9.60**
AP -T			4.03*

*p<.05 **p<.01

shows the Scheffé test of post hoc analysis, stating that the number of teacher's utterances produced in each speaking turn was significantly different from that of non-native speakers' utterances (X^2 = 9.60, p<.01), and the differences between age-peer native speakers' and non-native speakers' utterances in the mean number per turn was also significant at the level .05 (X^2 = 4.03). It also demonstrates that the differences between teacher and age-peer native speaker utterances were not statistically significant.

Table 7-4
Mean number of words per t-unit

	T - T	AP - T	NNS - T
mean	7.65	5.26	4.87
SD	12.79	9.37	7.19

Table 7-5
ANOVA TEST

SV	SS	df	MS	F
Between groups	4110.46	2	2055.23	24.16**
Within groups	273974.76	3221	85.06	

**p<.01

Table 7-4 includes the means and standard deviations of words used in each utterance of the three corpora. What is remarkable in Table 7-4 is that the number of words used in each utterance was not normally distributed across all corpora, since standard deviations for each corpus are all higher than the means. Table 7-5 shows that the differences in the mean number of words used in each utterance differed significantly in the three corpora (F ratio = 24.16, $p<.01$). Table 7-6 indicates that the difference between the teacher and non-native speakers in the number of words used in each utterance was significantly greater than that between the teacher and age-peer native speakers, $X^2 = 23.53$, $X^2 = 13.04$, at the .01 level, respectively. There was no significant difference between age-peer native speakers and non-native speakers in the mean number of words contained in each utterance.

Table 7-6
Scheffé Test

	T - T	AP - T	NNS - T
mean	7.65	5.26	4.87
T - T		13.04**	23.53**
AP -T			0.45

**p<.01

Table 7-7
Mean number of s-nodes per t-unit

	T - T	AP - T	NNS - T
mean	1.35	1.16	1.14
SD	2.12	1.78	1.54

Table 7-7 contains the means and standard deviations of s-nodes embedded in each utterance of the three corpora. As in the case of words used in each utterance, Table 7-7 shows

Table 7-8
ANOVA TEST

SV	SS	df	MS	F
Between groups	24.42	2	12.21	4.03*
Within groups	9759.96	3221	3.03	

*p< .05

Table 7-9
Scheffé Test

	T - T	AP - T	NNS - T
mean	1.35	1.16	1.14
T - T		2.14	3.77*
AP -T			0.03

*p<.05

that s-nodes were not normally distributed. Some utterances contained s-nodes more than the others in all three corpora. Table 7-8 demonstrates that the different mean number of s-nodes was statistically significant across all corpora (F ratio = 4.03, p<.05). Table 7-9 shows that the differences were significant only between the teacher-NNS and NNS-NNS interactions in the mean number of s-nodes embedded in each utterance. The other groups demonstrated no significant differences in the mean number of s-nodes.

Hypothesis 3: Input frequencies may be related to the order in which certain morphemes appear in the linguistic output of the ESL learners.

Data for this hypothesis are contained in tables 8 and 9.

Table 8

Nine grammatical morphemes in ESL production in informal age-peer conversation

ESL accuracy order (Krashen's average order, 1977)	APT - NS order	fr.	APT - NNS accuracy order	%	APT - NNS obligatory context order	fr.
1. prog. -ing	1. copula	198	1. prog. -ing	96.8	1. copula	217
2. plural	2. article	154	2. copula	82.0	2. plural	211
3. copula	3. plural	142	3. aux.	73.6	3. article	204
4. aux.	4. 3rd p. sing.	73	4. irreg. past	72.3	4. irreg. past	76
5. article	5. prog. -ing	39	5. reg. past	71.1	5. reg. past	45
6. irreg. past	6. aux.	36	6. plural	62.7	6. aux.	38
7. reg. past	7. irreg. past	35	7. 3rd p. sing.	51.5	7. 3rd p. sing.	33
8. 3rd p. sing.	8. reg. past	28	8. possessive	50.0	8. prog. -ing	32
9. possessive	9. possessive	16	9. article	45.5	9. possessive	14
	Total	721				670

8. Relative Frequencies of English Morphemes

Table 8 demonstrates the relative frequency of the nine grammatical morphemes in Krashen's (1977) "average order" in informal interactions between age-peer native speaker and non-native speakers. Also included in Table 8 were the frequency orders for non-native speakers' accurate production of the morphemes, and of obligatory contexts in their speech for their suppliance.

As can be noted in Table 8, the frequency of progressive "-ing" was considerably lower than the frequency of article and copula. Copula and article occurred about five and four times as frequently as the progressive "-ing," respectively. Table 8 also shows that the accuracy order of nine English morphemes except the plural morpheme and article in non-native speakers' production was identical to those of Krashen's (1977) "average order" for the accurate production by the learners of ESL. Plural morphemes and articles were out of place when compared with Krashen's "average order." Both of them differed by four ranks behind from those of Krashen's "average order."

9. Correlation between Morpheme Frequency Orders

Table 9 shows Spearman rank order correlation coefficients and significance levels between the morpheme frequency orders established in analysis 8. As Table 9 indicates, the native speaker frequency order was positively correlated with Krashen's (1977) "average order" (rho = .57, p<.001). Krashen's "average order" was most significantly correlated with the accuracy order at the .63 level (p<.001), and it was not significantly correlated with the relative frequency of obligatory context for the non-native speakers to supply those morphemes. The accuracy order of non-native speakers was not significantly correlated with the frequency order of age-peer native speakers (rho = .07), nor with the frequency order for obligatory contexts produced by the interaction between age-peer native and non-native speakers, either (rho = .07).

Table 9
Spearman rank order correlation coefficients

	AP - T NS fr. order	AP - T NNS accuracy order	NNS's obligatory context fr. order
Krashen's average order	.57**	.63**	.42
AP-T NS fr. order		.07	.68**
AP-T NNS fr. order			.07

**p<.001

B. Discussion

The results presented in Table 1 through 3 provide some preliminary answers for the first research questions: how three types of discourse differ in their structure in terms of strategies or devices used by the interlocutors.

1. Topic Development

Table 1 shows that the depth and detail of topic treatments did differ from discourse to discourse. With regard to the proportion of topic-continuing to topic-initiating moves, the differences between teacher-NNS and NNS-NNS interaction show that talk about any one topic in the NNS-NNS interaction was briefer, and simpler. This means that there was relatively very little information exchanged about topics. The following extract from a conversation between the teacher and students was typical:

(1) T: Alright, now (.) this line points to
this man over here, does it not?
S: Wrong lady
T: Look at this lady with the hairdo.
Ss: (laughter)
T: Alright, what does it tell you
when the line is between these two
people, xxx?
S: Son?
T: This is their (.)/son,/alright?
Ss: /son /
T: So, if you put a son, that would have
been quite all right, too.
But is a son also a father?
Ss: It is.
Yeah.
T: Alright, I could have had a father.

Well, xxx, how do I know that this
man is a father?
S: Because he has children, son?
T: Because he has a(:) [daughter] and a(:) [son.]
Ss: [daughter] [son]
T: Alright, we know that he is the father
of these two children.
So, some of you had son here.
That's quite all right.
Now (.) here is something else you can think
about. What is he to this funny looking lady,
xxx?
S: Husband
T: He is h(:)er /
Ss: / husband /
T: Well, what would she be?
Ss: Wife
T: Well, do all of you have a wife?
Ss: No, I don't.
Married? (laughter)

(T# 6)

In the example (1), the teacher initiated one topic and continued seven more related topics in the nineteen speaking turns, containing seven collaborating answers produced by the students. Only once, however, the students' collaborating moves were coded in the t-unit : "No, I don't." The teacher carried a much greater responsibility for the conversation, by dominating the conversation and by contributing to the turn-taking system.

A comparison can be made with the following discourse between age-peer native and non-native interaction.

(2) NS: But like uhm I only remember
summer time. And when it starts
to rain, my grandma tells,
it rains five minutes and stops.
(laughter) But here it rains
and rains and rains.
NNS: Okay, last summer-no-two years ago,
okay, two-two years ago.
NS: Was it in Alberta?
NNs: No, uhm in summer (laughter)
like(.) that begins uhm
NS: Yeah
NNS: There was(.)
NS: We're waiting.
NNS: Okay, we has (had) storm an(:)d
NS: rain
NNS: Yeah, rain, okay?
NS: Of course

(T# 3)

In the above example (2), the native speaker initiated a new topic and contributed to the exchange with three topic-continuing moves, resulting in the failure of taking the turn on the part of the non-native speaker. The topic-continuing moves were relatively few in this particular conversation.

This finding provides additional evidence to support the findings of Arthur et al., (1980) who have reported on the number of "information bits" communicated in telephone conversations between native and non-native callers and airline reservation clerks. In their study, the non-native speakers were asked to elicit as much information as possible as they were seeking prespecified information by the researchers. The utterance to get information is what is here called the topic-initiating move. Non-native speakers elicited less information than native speakers. In the two examples above, the native speakers (the teacher and age-peer native speaker) initiated topics and carried them out, in the form of topic-continuations.

However, non-native speakers handled slightly more topics in informal conversations with their own ethnic group than their age-peer counterparts did, even though the differences were not statistically significant. This appears to imply that non-native speakers' cognitive maturity outweighed their lack of linguistic ability in the second language, since they took advantage of their cognitive abilities as a "vehicle of language socialization" in the conversation (Schegloff, Jefferson, and Sacks, 1978, p.33).

Cognitive abilities appear to have contributed to the development of communication skills. Non-native speakers frequently initiated a new topic which they were familiar with. During lags in the conversation, they were able to begin the talk anew, resulting in the frequent change of the current topic. This may be a particularly useful strategy for second language learners who do not understand the vocabulary or are not interested in the on-going topic. The following example was typical:

(3) (The participants were talking about
Linstrom, a hockey player.)
NS: He (Linstrom) used to play
Winnipeg Jets.
He traded um Laurie Bashman.
NNS1: Who's right wing or left wing?
Who's Willy Linstrom?
He is right wing or left wing?
NS: Huh, he's a right wing.
NNS1: Huh, wrong, right wing?
NNS2: Who's Huddy?
NS: Huddy? Number twenty-two?
NNS2: But what?
Center?
NS: He's a defence.
I know that him and Paul Coffey
work together.
(T# 18)

In the above example (3), there are two topic shifts by the non-native speakers, with the native speaker mostly providing new information, in the form of collaborating discourse topics. Perhaps the non-native speakers initiated or continued topics frequently, because they were using topic initiation or continuation as a means of keeping the conversation focused on familiar subjects which they could easily understand. This finding is consistent with previous research on the foreigner-talk discourse (Scarcella and Higa, 1981; Long, 1981). That is, when a "trouble source" (Arthur et al., 1980) causes the non-native speaker to switch topic, native speakers often accept the topic shift, by treating the response as a topic initiation. This aspect of negotiation works may enable the non-native speakers to maintain a conversation long enough to obtain sufficient input for second language acquisition.

2. Cognitive Salience

The inference that non-native speakers' cognitive maturity, or conversation skills help to make language input more comprehensible appears to be related in part to the structure of topic-initiating moves in the three corpora. As can be noted in Table 2, there was a significantly frequent use of directive functions (questions and imperatives) of language for the purpose of topic-initiations. Indeed, 94 % of all topic-initiations in the teacher-talk were formed in directives (68 % in questions and 26 % in imperatives). The teacher may prefer the use of directives, since in English at least, directives are more readily identifiable and easier to understand than representatives (Halliday, 1975;

Ervin-Tripp, 1978), and more direct in meaning (Scarcella and Higa, 1981). Therefore, the use of directives may help to make language input cognitively more salient, when a new topic is initiated. In addition, directives coded by the teacher were frequently "framed," making them easily identifiable as requests, and thus attended to. The following examples were typical:

(4) (The class was talking about a lady
from a dental clinic.)
T: Now, how many people brush their
teeth quite well?
Ss: Me (3x) Yeah
T: So, let's see whether you can
remember what the lady is called, okay?
(T# 5)

(5) T: Alright, xxx, you read the last
sentence for us.
S: Color the bee.
T: Alright, what color do you suppose a
bee might be, xxx?
S: Uh, yellow, black, or brown.
(T# 1)

Both examples show that the teacher placed fragments before she encoded her utterances in the form of directives to get attention from the student and thus to make her topic-initiating moves more salient. In example (4), a question was encoded and in (5) an imperative for topic-initiations. The use of imperatives might have increased as a result of management and disciplinary functions of the teacher in the classroom activity, which was closely related to the student's immediate behavior. The frequent use of questions may be due to the distinguishing feature of classroom discourse. That is, many of the questions asked are ones to which the questioner already knows the answer and the intention is to discover whether the pupils also know. This type of questions is called "display questions" (Long and Sato, 1983, p.277). The frequent use of "display questions" is in part related to making language input cognitively more salient in the ESL classroom, since students are more likely to understand topics with which they are familiar.

Contrary to the teacher-talk discourse, the different use of questions and statements in the age-peer and NNS-talk discourse was not so statistically significant. The insignificant difference between two corpora may be in part due to "positive affective factors," (Peck, 1980) which appear to be equivalent to a "non-threatening atmosphere" in Slobin's (1964) terms.

The non-native speakers appear to have more than the "optimal affective state" (Dulay and Burt, 1977) in their conversation with the age-peer native children, and to have more "self-confidence" (Krashen, 1982) in their conversation with their own ethnic group in a second language. They are "off the defensive" (Stevick, 1976) enough to participate in the conversation. This low affective filter may help the non-native speaker to obtain more comprehensible input, even if it is rather varied and often confusing. This kind of verbal interaction might lead to a sort of "language play" reported by Sutton-Smith (1967), Garvey (1978), and Peck (1976; 1980). As a result of this language play, statements were used more often for topic-initiating purposes, since the participants' cognitive maturity can be assumed to be approximately the same. This finding is in part supported by Long's (1981) finding, where statements are more frequently used than questions in the adult NS-NS interaction for topic-initiating purposes.

In fact, as Fillmore (1976) and Peck (1980) put it, much of the age-peer native children's input appeared to be different from that of the teacher-talk discourse, in that it was varied and often confusing. The topic was not always the "here and now" (Cross, 1977). There were exaggerated sound imitations, imitations of a T.V. program, advertisement figures, and a sudden impulse to tease.

In general, questions are the most preferred forms for the topic initiations, with some decline in their use in age-peer and NNS-talk discourse. The use of directives for the topic initiations was explained in terms of cognitive salience. The use of questions may be favored for, at least, three reasons. First, linguistic markers associated with the question form, subject-auxiliary inversion, wh-morphology, rising intonation, or combinations of these, can serve to signal speaking turns for the non-native speakers. These aspects of question forms help to make topics more salient. Second, questions constitute the first part of a two-part "adjacency pair," question-answer (Schegloff and Sacks, 1973). Those pairs are two immediately collaborated utterances spoken by different speakers. As Goody (1978) points out, in most cultures, a question requires a response, resulting in the hearer's active attention.[4] Therefore, questions become a tool for ensuring the non-native speaker's participation, however limited his or her linguistic or communicative competence. Third, questions may help the interlocutor to lighten the conversational burden, because they encode part or, in some cases, all of the propositional content that the second speaker would normally have to supply if his or her utterance were preceded by a statement.

3. Forms of Questions

Questions can help make greater quantities of language input comprehensible, and also offer a non-native interlocutor more speaking opportunities. They are assumed to lighten conversational burden. For instance, Long (1981) has noted that yes/no questions, such as "Do you come from Korea?" are those that provide complete propositions. The respondent needs only to confirm or deny with a simple "Yes," or "No." In this sense, uninverted (intonation) questions are identical to yes/no question. Both forms are called "closed questions" (Robinson and Rackstraw, 1972). On the other hand, wh-questions, such as "Where are you from?" require the addressee to supply a missing information (e.g., "Korea") or proposition (e.g., "I come from Korea."). These forms are called "open questions."

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[4] Questions may not have this function in all cultures, however. See Hymes (1976), Boogs (1972), and Philips (1972), who found question-answer "adjacency pair" was not universal. Philips, working with the Warm Spring Indian group, found that answers to questions were not obligatory. Questions could be replied to later or not at all, and acknowledgment of the question or information was not obligatory. Philips also found that pauses between speaker turns were frequently much longer than silences in Anglo speech.

The specific properties of questions noted above may explain the pervasive use of questions in all corpora, and predict that native speakers use "closed questions" far more frequently than wh-questions. As Table 3 shows, this is not in fact the case for topic-initiations. While wh-questions tend to be frequently encoded, the proportional differences in the use of question forms are not statistically significant ($X^2 = 11.5$, $df=6$, $p>.05$, NS). When uninverted (intonation) questions are taken into consideration, the idea that "closed questions" will be favored is partially supported only by their significantly greater use by the age-peer native speakers, amounting to total 64 %, with the addition of 30 % and 34 %, in uninverted questions and yes/no questions, respectively. Non-native speakers' use of "closed questions" was not significantly different from their use of "open questions," 52 % and 48 %, respectively.

Other factors must have operated to maintain the overall majority of wh-questions. One possible explanation may be an interactional effect between the relative propositional simplicity of "closed questions" and their possibly greater complexity from a processing standpoint, due to the absence of the morphemic question marker. In other words, the result of Table 3 implies that the interactional structure of conversation plays a more crucial role in providing comprehensible input for the non-native speaker than the linguistic input per se, such as length and syntactic complexity of utterances, and lexical complexity, etc. The modified speech addressed to the non-native speaker may be achieved through the use of such devices as repetition, rephrasing, various forms of discourse repair, and questioning, which are assumed to relate to devices for obtaining attention from the non-native speaker in the speech situation (Long, 1983; Scarcella and Higa, 1981). The following examples would help to explain this assumption:

(6) T: xxx, what will you do?
Do you know what we will do next?
(T# 19)

(7) T: Alright, what will you do, xxx?
You will start at the very top
and you work down.
So, what will you write down about
this lady's name, xxx?
(T# 6)

In the above examples (6) and (7), the teacher secured the attention of the student, by using both frames and sequences of wh-questions, and thus, as Hatch(1978) puts it, making it easier for the student to participate in conversations (p.419). This means that the teacher provides opportunities for the student to attend both to the speech act and to the speech event so that the student can make both cognitive and linguistic discovery procedures available. This notion is identical to that established by Slobin (1973) in his "Cognitive prerequisites for the development of grammar."

Consequently, it would seem appropriate to conclude that native speakers attempt to establish a mutual focus of attention in their conversation with non-native speakers. The pervasive use of wh-questions appears to result from interlocutors' efforts to establish a mutual focus of attention. "Closed questions" also have a role in obtaining attention from the listener. The magnitude of the use of different forms of questions may depend on the particular structure of conversational interaction. Table 3 indicates that there were not significant differences in the use of various question forms for the purposes of topic-initiations among the three corpora.

Summary 1

In summary, as can be seen in Tables 1 through 3, there were significant differences of interactional structure both in topic developments and the use of speech acts for topic-initiating purposes. The results support research hypothesis 1. In addition, they provide preliminary answers for how native speakers interact in their conversation with non-native speakers. So far as immediateness of linguistic input is concerned, non-native speakers benefited from their age-peer native speakers more than from the ESL teacher, since the nature of "language play" in the age-peer talk may have helped to make language input both interesting and relevant to their immediate concern. Interestingly, non-native speakers appear to have obtained more comprehensible input from interlanguage interaction. This implies that ESL learners do not receive all language input from native speakers, even though they may live in an English-speaking society. This finding is similar to that reported by Schwartz (1980). However, within each turn, non-native speakers received less sufficient language input from both age-peer native and non-native speakers than from the ESL teachers in their verbal interactions. Consequently, it would appear appropriate to conclude that such differences as exist in discourse structure are quantitative rather than qualitative.

As for the use of speech acts, non-native speakers frequently received directive functions of language, which are more salient than representatives in the cognitive sense. The use of directives by native speakers appeared to make their language input more readily identifiable and easier to understand. Analysis of question forms, however, showed that the frequent use of wh-questions was closely related to attention-getting devices, and that there were no significant differences in the use of question forms, since they all make similar contributions to securing a mutual focus of attention, depending upon the interactional structure of the conversation. As a result, it may be reasonable to state that non-native speakers' cognitive maturity estimated by native speakers outweighed their lack of linguistic sophistication in the second language, resulting in their treating a slightly greater range of topics in an informal conversation as did their age-peer native speakers.

As research hypothesis 1 predicts, the different structure of conversational interaction with non-native speakers may result in varying relative frequencies of certain grammatical morphemes. For instance, when the teacher coded her utterances in the forms of wh-questions or imperatives, ESL learners were likely to hear the unmarked infinitive form far more frequently, since English marks on the auxiliary in questions and does not mark on the verb in imperatives. This was the case in the present corpora.

In addition, the results presented in tables 4 through 6 support research hypothesis 2. That is, the different use of attention-getting devices, negotiation works, and clarification devices was determined by the interactional structure of conversation with the non-native speaker. Conversational partners secure the attention of the hearer and establish a mutual focus of attention. To these ends, the subjects for this study used a variety of devices, including framed constructions, repetition, various checking techniques, as Keenan and Schieffelin (1976) reported in their research.

4. Attention-getting Devices

As evidenced in Table 4, framed constructions were common characteristics of the three corpora. Verbal interaction inside the classroom was most frequently coded in the form of framed structures, resulting in 51 % of framed constructions to total utterances. The following example illustrates when and how framed constructions were used.

(8) T: Alright, let's see whether you can
remember what that lady is called,
okay? Now, what is her job?
(T# 5)

The framed utterances in the above example indicate to the student that one turn has ended and another is beginning. The teacher concentrates on what the topic will be about. As mentioned earlier, teacher's directives were most frequently "framed." The fragments, such as "alright," "okay," or "now," etc., outside utterance boundaries lose their normal meaning. "Now" has no time reference. "Alright" or "okay" has no evaluative function though at other places in the lesson those same items are used normally. As Scarcella and Higa (1981) point out, the first step to provide comprehensible input is a mutual focus of attention. Framed constructions are one of typical devices that make utterances easy to segment and thus attend to. By the same token, the non-native speakers framed their utterances almost the same as the teacher did, to present their language input more attentively. The over-use of framed constuctions in NNS-NNS interaction in this study, seemed to come from the teacher's over-use for the same purposes. The difference is non-significant (T - T vs NNS - T, $X^2 = 1.99$, $p > .05$). The students may have realized that framed constructions help them to initiate a topic with the partner's attention focused on what they intended to talk about. This strategy was also applied to topic-continuing moves. As Garfinkle (1967) points out, this is an on-going negotiation work in the conversational interaction, especially when one of the interlocutors is aware that the other has limited linguistic abilities to carry out his or her turn.

However, age-peer counterparts did not show much reliance on this device, in comparison with both teacher-talk and NNS-talk discourse. This does not necesarily imply that they did not negotiate with the non-native speakers. Though the differences in the use of framed construction in each corpus are significant (X^2 =64.09, df=2, p<.001), age-peer native speakers did negotiate with the non-native speakers, by initiating topics about their immediate concern which are interesting and relevant to the non-native speakers. As Krashen (1981) claims, this condition for comprehensible input of being interesting and relevant made a significant contribution to the provision of comprehensible input, and thus reducing the use of framed constructions to a considerable degree. Age-peer native speakers used topicalization more frequently than the other corpora, as part of their attention-getting devices. The common interest between the interlocutors seem to attenuate the necessity to establish a mutual focus of attention. The teacher, however, had to indicate in advance what a chunk of discourse would be about, because her role involves the choice of topic, while age-peer group lack this control to a considerable extent.

5. Negotiation Work

As mentioned earlier, self-initiated repetition is repair work of the person who utters the "trouble source" (Schwartz, 1980). As evidenced in Table 5, there is a tendency for the speakers to repeat the utterances which they themselves have said before. The negotiation work for meaning is explicitly represented by the frequent use of self-initiated repetition in NNS-NNS interaction.

(9) NNS: When somebody came to our (.) school
I don't know what he's called.
Okay, this man, right?
When this man came, right?
he sound(s) so funny.
(T# 11)

In the above example (9), the non-native speaker framed and re-encoded concepts which were potential "trouble sources" for the partner. In this way, the speaker negotiated what he meant, keeping in mind the requirement for understanding on the part of the listener. Garnica (1975) suggests that such repetitions give the conversational partner a second look at an utterance and a second chance to process it. This is the case where the native speaker interacts with the non-native speakers.

Of the total utterances addressed to the non-native speakers, 19 % were self-repeated by the teacher, whereas 17 % were by ~~the~~ age-peer native speakers. As Keenan (1975) points out, these self-repetitions serve to secure and maintain the listener's attention in the process of negotiation for meaning. The following example was typical:

(10) T: Alright, what did she tell us about?
What did she talk about, okay?
What did she tell us?
What did she say?
(T# 5)

Thus, self-repetitions may also serve to provide for the listener language input more saliently, with the additional use of framed constructions. Non-native speakers, especially, used a wide variety of conversational fillers in their conversation with age-peer groups. Conversational fillers, such as, "you know," "I mean," etc., and non-lexical means, such as, cut-offs, pauses, and "uh," were used to signal the indicator of self-initiated repetition, although not every occurrence of these items signaled repetitions:

(11) NNS: And-and he-he has all the list
for songs, and he said that it,
uhm-he know(s) every songs
and he has about, you know, he has
about one hundred and fifty record(s),
I mean, my friend, xxx.
(T# 22)

As Schwartz (1980) points out, the non-native speaker in the example (11) used "you know" to fill gaps and to keep his turn before he repeated the "trouble sources. "I mean" was used to avoid any confusion by providing a referent for the pronoun used. Thus, conversational fillers including non-lexical items served to hold and take the turn at talk while simultaneously keeping the conversation going. The speaker took time to repair or to conduct a "mini word search."

(12) NNS1: We went uh last summer uh(:)
What is it? uh(:)

NNS2: Summer school?
NNS1: No, there's all the country people
come to the - some park and playing
a(:)nd
NNS2: Oh, yeah, Heritage.

(T# 3)

As is apparent in the example (12), self-repetition is a process of "negotiation for meaning," (Schwartz, 1980) which can even serve as a "vehicle of language socialization," (Schegloff, Jefferson, and Sacks, 1977). Self-initiated repetition may be an indication of language planning and language monitoring to make language input more comprehensible to the interlocutors (Clark and Clark, 1977). Self-repetition may serve as a technique for the non-native speaker to get more comprehensible input which is relevant to his or her intended proposition.

6. Clarification Devices

Clarification devices, including confirmation checks, comprehension checks, and clarification requests, function as showing the direction of information flow in preceding utterances and the indirect degree to which conversation is negotiated through the modification of its interactional structure. The clarification requests which demand that the non-native speaker confirm the native speaker's formulation of his or her initial utterance may be cognitively more difficult for the non-native speaker than are confirmation checks, which simply demand that the non-native speaker imitate what she or he just said. The non-native speaker is required to make a judgment in the former case, while in the latter case, the non-native speaker repeats the original utterance.

As evidenced in Table 6, clarification requests were the most frquently used type in the teacher talk, amounting to 29.3 % of all utterances and fragments. In contrast, the non-native speakers used confirmation checks, constituting 17.5 % of all utterances and fragments. Consequently, the teacher attempted to maintain the conversation by commenting on the topic or questioning in the form of clarification request sequences rather than in the form of confirmation check sequences, accounting for only 7 % of total utterances and fragments. Interestingly, the teacher tends to use confirmation checks to concentrate the student on the form of language as shown in the following example.

(13) S: Somebody aren't following.
T: Pardon me?
S: Somebody aren't.
T: Somebody isn't following directions?
S: Yeah.

(T# 5)

This finding provides additional evidence for the study conducted by Cherry (1979). In her study, "The role of adults' requests for clarification in the language development of children," she claims that this type of discourse provides syntactically correct utterances for what the native speaker believes the non-native speaker meant in his initial utterance (p.277).

In conversation, this type of confirmation checks appears to function as requests for information on the native speaker's correct interpretation of what the non-native speaker intended in his or her utterance. In fact, the non-native speaker has a limited amount of information she or he can encode in a correct form of the target language. Thus, the semantic expression of the non-native speaker's message may lack some critical aspect in syntax. This inference may be related to the relatively frequent use of confirmation checks in NNS-NNS interaction, since confirmation checks involve a reformulation of the speaker's initial utterance for "speaker-based adjustment" (Cherry, 1979), including changes in pronoun form or verb form due to changes of person. The following example explains the "speaker-based adjustment."

(14) NNS1: First time I got strike out.
NNS2: I hit.
NNS3: You hit home-run?
NNS1: Never, he never.

(T# 11)

In the example (14), the NNS 3 changed the pronoun to confirm whether the previous speaker 2 hit a home-run or not, since he did not provide this information in his utterance. The speaker 3 was negotiating with the other interlocutor for meaning by reformulating the previous speaker's utterance.

These confirmation checks may also provide for the non-native speaker the opportunities not only to participate in the on-going discourse but also to practice language input immediately, resulting in negotiation work for meaning. The non-native speakers for this study made more frequent use of confirmation checks, since they are easier than clarification requests (Keenan, 1974).

On the other hand, age-peer counterparts used a similar proportion of confimation checks and clarification requests, respectively 10 %, and 11 % of total utterances and fragments. This seems to explain that age-peer native speakers felt comfortable at the use of both techniques, since they were linguistically more sophisticated than the non-native speakers.

What is remarkable in Table 6 is that none of the three corpora used comprehension checks, consisting of such expression as "Do you understand?", which explicity check comprehension of the interlocutor. Only three times in the total set of utterances and fragments did the teacher use comprehension checks. The result implies that misunderstanding or ambiguities in conversation were clarified by other devices than comprehension checks. This finding may be closely related to low affective filter (Dulay and Burt, 1977) which makes input comprehensible (Krashen, 1982, p.62). In other words, direct comprehension checks may interfere with the natural flow of conversation by both enhancing anxiety and reducing self-confidence (Krashen, 1982, p.31). This was the case in the present corpora for this study. Both teacher and age-peer native speaker made an attempt to reduce affective filter by avoiding direct comprehension checks.

The avoidance of comprehension-checking devices is also found in Long and Sato's (1983) study, where adult native speakers used comprehension checks only 27 times (10 %) out of a total of 283 clarification devices in their conversation with non-native children at the elementary level (p.277). When a listener happens to meet a "trouble source" or a misunderstanding during conversation, he or she brings the misunderstood sources to the attention of the other either by confirmation checks, or clarification requests. The teacher tends to rely on clarification requests to a significant degree in her classroom instructon (confirmation checks x clarificaion requests, $X^2 = 140.1$, $df=1$, $p<.001$). The non-native speakers used confirmation checks more significantly than clarification requests in NNS-NNS interaction ($X^2 = 38.3$, $df=1$, $p<.001$). Age-peer native speakers used both confirmation checks and clarificaion checks without discrimination. This appears to be attributable to the fact that they were not so sophisticated as the experienced ESL teacher in terms of both cognition and language.

7. Linguistic Simplicity

As discussed earlier, a mutual focus of attention characterizes the discourse structure in the foreigner-talk discourse. This focus of attention may be a first step toward making one's utterance to the non-native speaker comprehensible, in terms of cognitive salience. The speaker may also attempt to make the utterance easy to understand by means of simple coding. As mentioned earlier, linguistic simpliciy is an extremely controversial issue in the strict sense of the word. However, as can be seen in Table 7, including sub-tables 7-1 through 7-9, there were in part significant differences among the three corpora in the number of utterances per turn, the number of words in each utterance, and the number of s-nodes embedded in each utterance.

The number of utterances in each turn that the age-peer native speaker used in their conversation with the non-native speakers was smaller than that of the ESL teacher, but the difference was not significant, as shown in the Scheffé test in Table 7-3. As Table 7-9 indicates, so far as the number of s-nodes is concerned, the utterances of the ESL teacher are not significantly different from those of the age-peer native speakers when conversing with non-native speakers. This implies that syntactic simplicity used by the teacher and native children did not make any significant difference when they are interacting with non-native speakers, even though it is assumed that both t-units and s-nodes are appropriate measures to determine linguistic simplicity. However, there were significant differences in the number of words used in each utterance. The teacher used an average of 7.56 words in each utterance, while age-peer native speakers used average 5.26 words. The difference was significant at the level, 13.04 ($p<.01$), as shown in the Scheffé test of Table 7-6. This implies that if the number of words used in each utterance serves as a determinant of linguistic simplicity, the language input from the age-peer native speaker is easier to understand than is the input from the ESL teacher. By the same token, interlanguage input would serve as the most comprehensible to the non-native speaker, since each of their utterance has average 4.87 words.

Consequently, the only difference was the number of lexical items, resulting in making teacher's utterances relatively complex to understand. As the standard deviations in Table 7-4 shows, lexical items were not normally distributed in all three corpora. This implies that each utterance has an uneven distribution of lexical items. Nonetheless, the teacher and age-peer native speakers did use simplified utterances. As shown in Table 7, the teacher used 1.92 utterances per turn and 1.35 s-nodes for each utterance. At a similar proportion, age-peer native speakers used 1.79 utterances for each turn and 1.16 s-nodes in each utterance. Non-native speakers used shorter and thus less complex utterances in their interlanguage interaction than did the teacher and their age-peer counterparts. The differences in the number of utterances per turn, however, were statistically significant, as can be seen in the Scheffé test of Table 7-3. The teacher produced significantly more utterances in each speaking turn than did age-peer native and non-native speakers in their discourse (X^2 =4.03, p<.05, X^2 =9.60, p<.01, respectively). This finding implies, as Snow (1972) puts it, that the more competent speaker dominated the conversation, hardly allowing the non-native speaker to get a word in edgewise, because of the teacher's function to control turns in the instructional situation. As for the number of s-nodes embedded in each utterance, the difference is significant especially between teacher-talk and NNS-talk discourse, as shown in the Scheffé test of Table 7-9, at the 3.77 level (p<.05). Thus, this finding leads to the inference that the non-native speaker may have obtained more comprehensible input from other non-native speakers, in that the input from other non-native speakers was both interesting and relevant to their immediate concern (Krashen, 1982, p.66-67). In addition, the non-native speakers for this study may have received more simplified input from their age-peer counterparts rather than from the interaction with their ESL teacher, even though the differences were not significant in this case.

This inference may provide additional support for Fillmore's (1976) study, where it is reported that peers are a valuable source of language input about the target language. Nystrom (1983) also suggests that age-peer native speakers are an important source of comprehensible input even in teacher-conducted lessons as well as child-initiated activities. This is the case with the present corpora.

The non-native speakers obtained language input in the more simplified form from their interaction with age-peer native speakers rather than with the ESL teacher. However, this does not necessarily imply that the linguistic simplification is the only causative condition for the learner to obtain comprehensible input. As mentioned earlier, there exists a conflict between simplification in the linguistic sense and simplification in the cognitive sense (Chaudron, 1983, p.129). Both types must be taken into account to determine speech modifications in the foreigner-talk discourse.

The results evidenced in Table 1 through 3, for instance, reveal that utterances with simplified speech acts were also apparent in the teacher-talk discourse. First, students received directives more from the teacher than age-peer native speakers. The teacher framed her utterances more frequently than the age-peer group did. Thus, it could be said that the teacher relied on the use of earlier, more primitive request forms when addressing the students in the instructional situation (Ervin-Tripp, 1978). The framed construction in the teacher's utterances will help to make language input more comprehensible and easily identifiable as requests. Second, the teacher did not always wait for the learner to respond to her directives. Instead, she carried out her own requests in much the same way that she answered her own rhetorical questions. Third, the students received more clues from the teacher than from their age-peer counterparts. Many of these were elliptical, in other words, fragments, requiring the learner to draw inferences about the desired objects requested.

(15) T: Give me a drink or a glass of water.
So, what word would go in there now?
There's a little clue for you.
You don't even have to look at
your puzzle, xxx.
The sentence helps you.
S: ??
T: xxx, listen.
I would like something to (:)
Give me a glass of water.
You want to eat or you want to drink?
S: Drink

(T# 6)

In the above example (15), the teacher was trying to provide a clue for the student, as Ervin-Tripp (1977) reports.

In a cognitive sense, the teacher tried to get her language input more readily identifiable and easily understood than those of age-peer native speakers. Again, simplicity of speech acts may not be the causative determinant for providing comprehensible input for the learner, since simplified speech acts are necessary, but they are not a sufficient condition for language acquisition. Either linguistic simplicity or simple speech acts alone may not be optimal in providing comprehensible input for the non-native speakers, but their harmonious combination will make language input comprehensible, resulting in language acquisition.

Summary 2

In summary, the analyses of conversational data show that different interactional structures result from the different use of attention-getting devices, negotiation works, and clarification devices. This was supported by the results presented in tables 4 through 6. In addition, the results demonstrate how the use of those devices operates to make language modifications in conversations with non-native speakers. This was contrasted with the results presented in Table 7 and its subtables.

As we have seen, the ESL teacher made remarkable efforts to get attention from the learners by the frequent use of framed constructions, and so did the non-native speakers in their conversaion with other non-native speakers. Establishing a mutual focus of attention appears to be one of the features of foreigner-talk discourse. Attention-getting devices were utilized to make the listener more attentive to the message of on-going discourse, and presumably leading to comprehensible input.

In addition to framed constructions, conversational partners negotiated for meaning by self-repeating what they thought were potential "trouble sources" both for themselves and listeners. From the learners' point of view, self-initiated repetitions were an indication of language planning and language monitoring to make their speech more comprehensible. As a result of this process, they were able to obtain more relevant input from their partner. Consequently, it appears that both attention-getting devices and negotiation works for meaning make qualitative differences in interactional structures of conversation.

This qualitative nature of interactional structures seems to be clear in the different use of clarification devices. Conversational interlocutors made efforts to lighten the affective filter by avoiding direct use of comprehension checks which might cause them to lose self-confidence, and thus enhance anxiety. The ESL teacher made frequent use of clarification requests, while non-native speakers were willing to use confirmation checks, what is called "speaker-based adjustment." These checks provided for the non-native speaker opportunities not only to negotiate for meaning of the on-going discourse, but also to put the previous speaker's utterance into practice.

The average length of the teacher's utterances was longer than that of age-peer native speaker. However, both average number of utterances included in a turn and the average number of s-nodes embedded in each utterance did not show significant differences between teacher and age-peer discourse. In other words, there were not significant differences in providing syntactically simplified input for the non-native speakers. Consequently, if the number of words in the utterance determined linguistic simplicity, non-native speakers might obtain simplified input from age-peer counterparts rather than from the teacher. In fact, they did receive simplified input from both the teacher and age-peer counterparts, since their input was neither complex in the mean number of s-nodes, nor long in the average number of words per utterance, compared with other research findings regarding adult NS-NNS interactions (e.g., Long, 1983; Scarcella and Higa, 1981).

However, as Krashen (1978; 1980; 1981) describes, "optimal input" for language acquisition is (1) sufficient in quantity, (2) given in a non-threatening atmosphere, (3) both attended to and understood by the learner, and (4) at an appropriate level (just beyond the learner's current linguistic competence). Simplified input, as seen in Table 7 and its subtables 7-1 through 7-9, meets only condition (4), appropriate level. According to Krashen (1982), this condition for linguistic simplicity must be a necessary condition, but not a sufficient condition for language acquisition to occur, since there is no guarantee that simplified input satisfies the other conditions, especially conditions (2) and (3). In order to meet conditions (2) and (3), qualitative structures of conversational interacton should be operative. These conditions could be met by other factors, that is, cognitive salience, such as, attention-getting devices, negotiation works, and clarificaion devices.

Interestingly, interlanguage input appears to satisfy most conditions except condition (4), appropriate level. The non-native speakers' input, in other words, interlanguage input, appears to be limited in proportion with their proficiency of linguistic and communicative competence. Especially, when they are at the "transitional stages" (Dulay et al., 1982, p.121-137) of language development, their interlanguage input may be distorted, and thus have negative effect on condition (4). However, the analyses of their conversational interaction reveal that their language input was well attended and understood by their partner, especially in a condition of low affective filter. These findings may have some implications for those who are involved in teaching and learning English in the EFL situation.

8. Input Frequency and Natural Order

Table 8 shows that there is a significant difference in the rank order of "article" between Krashen's (1977) "average order" and accuracy orders of non-native speakers in the age-peer talk (APT), the 5th in the "average order" and the 9th in the APT, respectively. Another difference to affect the correlation is the rank orders of plural morphemes, the 2nd in the "average order," and the 6th in accuracy orders of NNS in the APT. In spite of these two factors, the accuracy order of NNSs in the APT is positively correlated with the "average order" at the level of rho=.63 (p<.001). As can be seen in Table 8, most of nine morphemes except these two ranked exactly the same as Krashen's (1977) "average order." Both plural morpheme and article differed by four ranks behind those of Krashen's "average order."

The changes in rank orders appear to be attributable to the influence of the subjects' first language. According to Hakuta (1974), at the beginning stage of second language acquisition, a morpheme containing a new semantic notion in conjunction with syntax (e.g., number and definite/ indefinite article) would be acquired later than a morpheme expressing an existent notion for the Korean children.[5] Another feasible explanation may be phonological interference, and the one evidence to date is the consonant cluster which would provide certain difficulties to a native

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[5] Based on "presence/nonpresence of semantic notions expressed in the grammatical morphemes in Japanese" (Brown, 1973), Hakuta (1974) supported Brown's conclusion that Japanese has no semantic notions of "plural" and "article."

Korean speaker. These two factors, a notion non-existent in L1 and phonological interference in the process of cognitive development in a second language, may have inhibited the subconscious process of linguistic generalization.

Though NNS accuracy order in the APT is not identical to the "average order," their correlations are significantly positive (rho=.63, p<.001). This positive correlation provides additional empirical evidence for the "natural order hypothesis" in ESL morpheme acquisition, in that the data for this study were collected from conversations between age-peer native speakers and non-native speakers in a monitor-free condition. In addition, the positive correlation between "average order" and NNS accuracy order is consistent with that of Krashen's follow-up studies, using free speech in adult NS-NNS interaction (Krashen et al., 1977) and Christison (1979), also using free speech. That is, learners of ESL acquire nine grammatical morphemes in essentially the same order, regardless of different kinds and amounts of ESL instruction.

Research hypothesis 3 was not supported by the results presented in Tables 8 and 9. That is, there were no significant correlations between the input frequency order of age-peer native speakers and the accuracy order of non-native speakers (rho=.07, NS). On the other hand, the correlations between input frequency order of native speakers and Krashen's "average order" were positive at the level of rho=.57 (p<.001). This finding does not necessarily imply that the frequency with which certain morphemes appear in the native speakers' language input is directly related to the order in which they occur in the linguistic output of non-native speakers. To put it in other words, the input frequency order of native speakers did correlate with Krashen's "average order," which was positively correlated with accuracy order of non-native speakers' production. However, the input frequency order of native speakers was not significantly correlated with the accuracy order of non-native speakers' production. This finding implies that oral input frequency may be a necessary condition, but not a sufficient condition for morpheme acquisition to occur. That is, the input frequency order has no direct or immediate relationship to the accuracy order of non-native speakers' production at the same point in time.

This finding is not consistent with Larsen-Freeman's (1976) finding that there are positive correlations between the rank order of frequency of nine grammatical morphemes of two university ESL teachers and the accuracy orders which she obtained in her 1975 study. However, there was no information about the absolute frequency of occurrence of the various morphemes. While the correlations are positive and sometimes significant, morphemes that are widely separated on the accuracy orders (e.g., progressive "-ing" and 3rd person singular) are separated by only one rank in the teachers' speech. Furthermore,the High accuracy of auxiliary was eighth of the nine morphemes in frequency of occurrence in the teachers' speech. Thus, Dulay and Burt (1978) claim that it would be very difficult to conclude that accuracy orders were caused by the frequency orders.

It seems also evident, as Lightbown (1983) puts it, that an adequate study of input to the non-native speaker is extremely difficult in most settings, especially those in which learners receive a great deal of informal exposure to the language. It seems to be an almost insurmountable task to obtain an adequate and representative sample of the language input, given the assumption that written input also makes a significant contribution to second language acquisition (Krashen and Terrell, 1983). Based on a variety of language data from formal ESL instruction, including oral language input the subjects heard in the classroom instruction and the written input (e.g., Lado English Series, Book 1) they used as a textbook, Lightbown (1983) reports that there is no direct relationship between the input frequency and the accuracy order for young French-speakers of ESL to acquire grammatical morphemes of English.

Consequently, it would be appropriate to conclude that the frequency of language input cannot be a causative factor in the acquisition of certain grammatical morphemes. As Krashen (1982) puts it, the frequency of language input may be a necessary condition for the acquisition of a certain morpheme, since there is a significant correlation between frequency order and "average order," but it may not be a sufficient condition for the acquisition process, since there is not a significant correlation between the input frequency order of native speakers and the accuracy order of non-native speakers' production.

The discrepancy involved in significant correlations between input frequency and "average order," and non-significant correlations between input frequency and non-native speakers' accuracy order, as was the case in the present study, suggests that input frequency may become an acquisition factor at later stages of second language development. In other words, since the non-native speakers manifest the accuracy order similar to "average order," but their accuracy order is unrelated to input frequency orders at earlier stages, it may be necessary for the non-native speakers to obtain some degree of language competence, both linguistic and communicative, in the second language before they can "tune in" to the input frequency. This implies that some measures sensitive to the interactional structures of conversation or to the degree of negotiation between native speakers and non-native speakers may have been more powerful predictors of accuracy orders (Snow and Hoefnagel-Höhle, 1982, p.425).

However, the result of this study appears to provide some implication for the importance of input frequency in language acquisition when we take into account the relationships between frequency in oral language input to the non-native speakers and the order of accurate production of certain morphemes in obligatory contexts. As shown in Table 9, the average order is not significantly correlated with the relative frequency of obligatory contexts for production of the morphemes in the non-native speakers' speech (rho=.42), while the native speakers' frequency order in APT is significantly correlated with "average order" at the level of rho=.57 (p<.001). That is, the "average order" is more correlated with the frequency order of native speakers than with the relative frequency order of obligatory contexts to produce the morphemes in the non-native speakers' speech. This finding suggests that so far as English morphemes are concerned, the frequency of oral language input to the non-native speaker makes more contribution to morpheme acquisition than opportunities for use in obligatory contexts. However, it would be necessary to notice that the rho of .42 is very close to being significant at the .001 level. This closeness to the significant level attenuates the strength of this suggestion that input frequency has a greater role in morpheme acquisition than does the opportunities for use of the morpheme in obligatory contexts. Further research might usefully test this suggestion on the basis of larger and more carefully controlled corpora of data collected from a wider variety of speakers and speech events. This study only focused on the corpus collected from the conversational interaction between age-peer native and non-native speakers.

Summary 3

In summary, the findings of this study provide additional support for the natural order hypothesis. The Korean children of ESL were acquiring nine English morphemes in a predictable order, except for articles and plural markers. Their morpheme accuracy orders were positively correlated with Krashen's (1977) "average order." However, their accuracy orders were not significantly related to the frequency of input addressed by their age-peer native speakers, resulting in the rejection of research hypothesis 3. However, this study focused only on oral input from age-peer native speakers. Korean children might have obtained language input from a variety of sources, including the ESL teacher, television programs, and their textbooks as written input. It was concluded that there is no direct relationship between oral input frequency and accuracy order. Oral language input may be a necessary condition, but not a sufficient condition for morpheme acquisition to occur. This condition satisfies one of Krashen's conditions, that is, comprehensible input should be sufficient in quantity.

Another interesting suggestion involved in this analysis, however, is that input frequency appears to be more related to morpheme acquisition than the opportunities for use in obligatory contexts. It was evidenced that Krashen's (1977) "average order" was more closely correlated with the input frequency of native speakers than with frequency order of obligatory contexts to produce the morphemes in the non-native speakers' speech. This suggestion, however, needs to be further examined by larger corpora of data. This finding would be indirectly supported by Lenneberg (1962), who described the case of a boy with congenital dysarthria, thus never being able to speak. When Lenneberg (1962) tested the boy, he found that the boy was able to understand spoken English perfectly. In conjunction with language input, Krashen (1982) said that language competence could be acquired by comprehensible input only without ever having production. This finding has implications for the ESL teacher, learner, and curriculum writers involved in ESL.

VII. Conclusions and Implications

A. Conclusions

As Hakuta and Cancino (1977) point out, in previous research in the process of second language acquisition, an important link has been missing, that is, the link between input and output data in the verbal interaction. The underlying theoretical position of this study has been that second language acquisition takes place when cognitive and linguistic abilities are linked in the speech situation. This weaker version of the cognitive hypotheses keeps pace with the increasing focus on the social and situational variables involved in second language research (e.g., Dulay and Burt, 1978; Selinker and Lamendella, 1978; Schuman, 1976). Language and non-language development could, in some respects, both be subject to the constraints of common underlying variables. Under this theoretical position, some variations have been found not to be specific to language, contrary to the "autonomous linguistic hypothesis" claimed by Chomsky (1965), McNeill (1970), and Curtiss, Yamada and Fromkin (1979). The source has been sought in more general human characteristics in verbal interaction.

Consequently, the first task for this study was to investigate the characteristics of language input addressed to the non-native speakers in conversational interaction. The necessary condition for conversation to take place in the foreigner-talk discourse (Hatch, 1978; Hatch, Shapira, and Gough, 1978; Larsen-Freeman, 1980), is speech modification, not only of linguistic input per se (e.g., length and syntactic complexity of utterances, lexical diversity, etc.), but also of the interactional structure of NS-NNS conversation. Thus, the conceptual notion advanced was that of establishing links between cognitive performance and linguistic competence in the process of second language acquisition.

In the process of this study, research hypotheses 1 and 2 were supported by data analyses 1 through 7, while hypothesis 3 was not supported by data analyses 8 and 9. There are several major conclusions which can be drawn on the basis of the viewpoints which have been put forward in this study. The followings are major findings discovered in the process of the testing of the research hypotheses:

1. Interactional structures of conversation provide for non-native speakers input which is simplified both in a cognitive and linguistic sense.

2. In a discourse context, non-native speakers' cognitive maturity outweighs their lack of linguistic sophistication in a second language.

3. Interlanguage input, the speech of second language learners to each other, is likely to satisfy "conditions for optimal input" (Krashen, 1982, p.63-70), except for the ungrammaticality of much interlanguage talk.

4. Language input addressed to non-native speakers is mostly modified through attention-getting devices,

self-initiated repetition, and clarification devices for meaning, which are determined by interactional structures of conversation.

5. Input frequency of a specific morpheme is not directly related to the accuracy order in non-native speakers' production of the same morpheme.

6. So far as morpheme acquisition is concerned, input frequency tends to play a slightly more important role in the process of second language acquisition than do opportunities for use of the same morpheme in obligatory contexts.

Essentially, this study of conversational interaction, with the focus on speech act, has shown how non-native speakers receive language of a very special sort, namely, modified input. The interaction, however, is not a conscious language-teaching process. It arises from the need to create a social bond (Fillmore, 1976; Peck, 1980) between native and non-native speakers via conversations. Long (1980) emphasizes the importance of conversational interaction when he states that language can not successfully be described apart from communication (p.32). In order to understand and to be understood, different types of verbal interaction resulted in the different use of speech acts, especially, directives and representatives, for topic-intiating purposes. Directives are the most preferred forms among the three corpora. As mentioned in the previous chapter, directives are cognitively more salient and thus easier to understand than representatives. Moreover, directives require the listener to provide information, or to do or not to do some thing. Therefore, they are directive in meaning in the speech event. Thus, it would seem appropriate to conclude that native speakers simplify speech acts cognitively and thus get their speech attended to in conversation with non-native speakers. This is closely linked to establishing a mutual focus of attention in the foreigner-talk discourse. As a result of the frequent use of directives, non-native speakers tend to be exposed to the unmarked infinitive form in English syntax, since English marks simple past on the auxiliary in questions and on the main verb in statements.

In order to get attention from the students, the ESL teacher made more frequent use of wh-questions than yes/no questions for topic-initiating purposes. The specific properties of question forms described in detail in the previous chapter predict that native speakers will use yes/no questions far more frequently than wh-questions, which are syntactically more difficult than yes/no questions for topic initiations. The pervasive use of wh-questions implies that interactional factors must have played a more important role in the on-going discourse than linguistic simplicity, _per se_, such as length of utterances, syntactic simplicity, and lexical complexity. In addition, the teacher did not wait for the student to respond to her requests. Instead, she carried out her own requests in much the same way that she answered her own rhetorical questions.

A mutual focus of attention in interactional structure is more important than the choice of various linguistic forms in keeping discourse going. As a result of this interactional structure, non-native speakers' cognitive maturity estimated by the native speaker outweighs their lack of linguistic sophistication in the second language when the focus is on the mutual attention to sustain the on-going discourse. This conclusion is evidenced in the fact that the ESL teacher used clarification requests more frequently than confirmation checks, because she put more emphasis on securing attention from the learner than on linguistic simplicity in the classroom interaction.

The effort to get attention is further evidenced in the fact that teacher's utterances were framed more than 50 % to establish mutual focus of attention. In addition, the frequent use of self-initiated repetitions gave the learner a second look at the utterance and a second chance to process it. In addition, non-native speakers also made frequent use of framed constructions, and self-initiated repetitions. They self-repeated their utterances which they thought were "trouble sources" for the speaker and the listener as well. Self-initiated repetitions are closely linked to framed constructions, in that both devices serve as establishing a mutual focus of attention. They are also related to clarification devices, in that both are frequently used as negotiation works for meaning. These devices used by native speakers serve as an instrument to make their language input comprehensible, since they help the learner to segment utterances easily and thus attend to what is being said. This sort of speech modification appears to be determined by the different interactional structure of conversation in the speech situation. As a result of this interactional structure, non-native speakers treated a slightly greater range of topics in an informal conversation as did their age-peer counterparts. Another indirect evidence in this study is that age-peer native speakers used both confirmation checks and clarification requests almost at the same rate, while the ESL teacher used clarification requests more frequently than confirmation checks, which are assumed to be easier than clarification requests both in the cognitive and linguistic sense (Cherry, 1979).

As a result of attention-getting devices, foreigner-talk discourse is featured by greater numbers of "framed constructions" to get the listener attentive to the meaning of on-going discourse. This active involvement in the conversation is said to facilitate language acquisition, "charging" the input (Sternfeld, 1978) and allowing it to "penetrate" deeply (Stevick, 1981). Larsen-Freeman (1983) emphasized the importance of attention when she states that the learners listen selectively for meaningful input and may even elicit input which is slightly beyond their current language competence (p.11). Relying on clarification devices, non-native speakers are frequently able to get those parts of the input which they do not understand explained. In addition, they are able to get more comprehensible input which is familiar to them , by making their speech comprehensible through self-initiated repetition of their intended proposition. This work of negotiation for meaning is another feature of interactional structures in the foreigner-talk discourse, since the crucial element of conversation is to understand and to be understood (Schwartz, 1980). The negotiation for meaning in the FTD could be referred to as both "a vehicle of language socialization" (Schegloff, Jefferson, and Sacks, 1977) and a vehicle of second language acquisition.

In addition to the conceptual links suggested in this study, there is another aspect of the work in conversational analysis which has an important effect on a number of areas of study on second language acquisition. That is, the analysis makes it possible to examine both the input to, and the output of, a speaker. Based on input-output data, the analysis for this study has attempted to shed some light on possible relationship among input, interaction, and second language acquisition.

In this study, we have seen that non-native speakers reformulate the current speaker's utterance through "speaker-based adjustment," (Cherry, 1979) which includes changes in pronoun form or verb form due to changes of person. These confirmation checks have been concluded to provide for the non-native speakers opportunities both to participate in the on-going discourse, and to practice language input immediately. This is one way in which speaking practice can contribute to second language acquisition. In the domain of conversational analysis, Keenan (1974) states that children make more frequent use of confirmation checks, and Cherry (1979) claims that these confirmation checks are easier than clarification requests both in the cognitive and linguistic sense (p.282). This finding is possible only when we have a close look at input-output data in conversational interaction. Within this context, it was also possible to discover that comprehension checks were rarely used in any of the three corpora, since they affect anxiety and self-confidence in the natural flow of conversation. This finding is consistent with that of Long and Sato's (1983) study, where relatively smaller numbers of comprehension checks are used by adult native speakers in their conversation with non-native speakers (p.277).

So far as linguistic simplicity is concerned, it would be appropriate to conclude that there are not significant differences between the ESL teacher and age-peer native speakers in providing simplified linguistic input for non-native speakers, if the mean number of utterances per turn and mean number of s-nodes per utterance are appropriate measures to determine linguistic simplicity. The ESL teacher provided relatively longer utterances for the students than did the age-peer native speakers, since the average number of words in her utterance is significantly larger than that used by age-peer native speakers. Again, linguistic simplicity may not be the only determinant to provide comprehensible input. In this study, it has been concluded that both simplified speech acts and linguistic simplicity make a contribution to modified speech. In other words, interactional structures of conversation will determine speech modification both in a cognitive and linguistic sense.

The rationale for this study was that comprehensible input is the causative factor for language acquisition to take place. As mentioned in Chapter 6, Krashen (1978, 1980, 1981, 1982) describes "optimal" input for language acquisition, hypothesizing that "optimal" input is (1) sufficient in quantity, (2) given in a non-threatening atmosphere, (3) both attended to and understood by the language learner, and (4) at an appropriate level (just a little beyond the learners' current linguistic competence). From the perspective of "optimal" input for language acquisition, the linguistic simplicity condition may only meet condition (4). That is, it is a necessary condition, but it is not a sufficient condition (Krashen, 1982, p.66). Therefore, it can be said that linguistic simplicity is only one of the conditions required to be optimal input for language acquisition.

It is interesting to note that the language input generated by NNS-NNS interaction appears to satisfy all four conditions for "optimal" language input, with all linguistic or communicative limitations of their proficiency in a second language. Their interlanguage input, however, is sometimes severely distorted, since they are still at a transitional stage (Dulay et al., 1982, p.121-137) of language development. If some problems, such as, fossilization (Selinker, 1972), and pidginization (Schumann, 1978), for instance, could be solved, interlanguage input may have some implications for those who are involved in second language teaching in the EFL situation, where the target language is never used outside the classroom instruction.

The conversational data for this study were examined to discover the relationship between relative frequencies and the order in which leaners of ESL produce a certain morpheme accurately in obligatory contexts. In this study, we have been able to provide additional evidence for the natural order hypothesis (Dulay and Burt, 1974; Bailey, Madden, and Krashen, 1974; Larsen-Freeman, 1976). That is, Korean children of ESL acquire nine grammatical morphemes in an order which is not significantly different from the "average order" (Krashen, 1977).

However, non-native speakers' accuracy orders of nine English morphemes in obligatory contexts are not significantly related to input frequency orders of age-peer native speakers at the same point in time, even though they are closely related to Krashen's (1977) "average order." In this study, input frequency orders of age-peer native speakers are positively related to Krashen's "average order." This positive correlation, however, does not necessarily imply the correlation between input frequency of native speakers and accuracy order of non-native speakers, as was the case in this study. Research hypothesis 3 was not supported by the analysis of conversational data. Consequently, it was concluded that input frequency of a specific morpheme has no direct or immediate relationship to accuracy orders of the same morpheme in obligatory contexts. As Lightbown (1983) puts it, an adequate study of input frequency to the non-native speaker is extremely difficult in most settings, especially those in which learners receive a great deal of informal exposure to the second language. Given the assumption that written input make a significant contribution to second language acquisition (Krashen and Terrell, 1983), it seems to be almost insurmountable to obtain an adequate and representative sample of the second language. In this study, it has been suggested that accuracy orders may be related to interactional structures of conversation (Long, 1983) or to the degree of negotiation work for meaning during conversational interaction.

Finally, in this study, it has been suggested that oral input frequency is more related to morpheme acquisition than are opportunities for use in obligatory contexts. This finding needs to be tested by further research. However, it is consistent with some current teaching methods, such as

Total Physical Response (Asher, 1972, 1978), the Natural Approach (Terrell, 1977), and Lozanov's Suggestopedia (Bancroft, 1978), where speaking practices are considerably delayed until the learners improve their comprehension of language input at the beginning stage. This finding has some implication for second language teaching especially in the EFL situation, where the target language is rarely used outside the classroom instruction.

B. Implications

For the second language teaching profession the past decade has been a period of concern with "meaning." The importance of meaningful language use at all stages in the acquisition of second language communicative skills has come to be recognized by language teachers around the world, and many curricular innovations have been proposed in response. "Real communication" - as opposed to the drill-like pseudo-communication to which teachers and learners have been accustomed- "meaningful activity," and "spontaneous expression" are now familiar terms in discussions of what should go on in a language classroom. This study has significant implications for these issues.

Krashen (1978) has developed his notion of individual variation in the amount of monitoring done by a learner. As mentioned in Chapter 3, Krashen's Monitor Hypothesis posits that there are two separate systems for gaining knowledge of a second language. Individuals may subconsciously "acquire" language through the process of creative construction used by children in first language acquisition. This process is completely subconscious, informal, and separate from conscious, formal "learning" of linguistic rules. Krashen's model asserts that language users may edit their ouput by using their "Monitor." They draw on conscious knowledge of linguistic rules to edit their speech. The amount they "monitor" or edit varies with the individual. Krashen (1978) describes the extreme case of monitoring: over-users and under-users. He suggests that extreme over-users are so overly concerned with correctness that they sacrifice fluency. Extreme under-users are so utterly oblivious to conscious linguistic knowledge that they do not utilize it to advantage even when conditions favor it. Krashen (1982) suggests that our pedagogical goal is to produce optimal users, who edit when it is appropriate and when it does not interfere with communication.

Naiman, Fröhlich, and Stern (1975) emphasize the importance of Monitor under-users when they state that the good language learner is the one who prefers fluency over accuracy in the earlier stages of language learning.

In the field of second language acquisition research, Hatch (1978) has pointed out that in second language learning, the basic assumption was that one first learns how to manipulate structures, that one gradually builds up a repertoire of structures and then, somehow learns to put the structures to use in discourse. She suggests that she would

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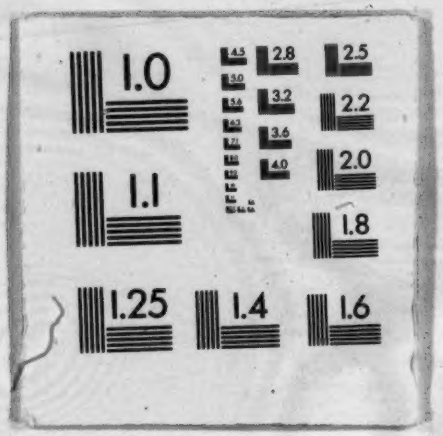
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like to consider the possibility that just the reverse happens. One learns how to interact verbally, and out of this verbal interaction syntactic structures are developed. Krashen (1982) also emphasizes the importance of "communication competence" when he states that we acquire by going for meaning first, and as a result, we acquire structure (p.21).

Implications for ESL instruction

Pedagogically, comprehensible input and opportunities to use a second language for communicative purposes are probably the minimum requirements for successful classroom second language acquisition. Through this study, we have become more aware of how oral language input is exchanged. We came to a better understanding of how each of us as individuals interacts via language. The necessary condition for such verbal interaction to take place in the ESL classroom is speech modification. In this study, modified language input is of three sorts. First, foreigner-talk discourse is the one which results from the speech modification which age-peer native speakers make with less than fully competent speakers of their language (see, Hatch, Shapira, and Gough, 1978, for some good examples of foreigner-talk discourse modified by adult native speakers). Second, the teacher-talk discourse is conducted in the classroom, the language of classroom management and explanation, when it is in the second language. A third modification is interlanguage talk, the speech of other second language acquirers (see, Schwartz, 1980, for some good examples of adult NNS-NNS interaction).

While there are some differences among speech modifications, there are important similarities. First, different types of speech modifications made in the foreigner-talk and teacher-talk are not made for the purpose of language teaching, but are made for the purpose of communication to help the second language acquirers understand what is being said. Second, the foreigner-talk and teacher-talk are roughly-tuned to the level of the acquirer. More advanced second language acquirers tend to get more complex input, but the correlation between proficiency and input complexity is less than perfect.

Interlanguage input is also useful for second language acquisition. We have been able to see that interlanguage input satisfies conditions for input theory in second language acquisition, in that it is meant for communication with a relatively low affective filter. However, there is, as Krashen (1982) puts it, the question of whether the ungrammaticality of much interlanguage talk outweighs those other conditions for "optimal" input. This question may be attributable to the fact that the interactional structure, based on interlanguage input, has not been fully examined in the literature of second language acquisition research and that comprehensible input plays more crucial roles in second language acquisition than opportunities for practice.

In this study, speech modification was examined through the use of such devices as framed constructions, self-initiated repetition, clarification, simple coding, and questioning. We have been able to see that native speakers provide larger quantities of simple input, a more supportive atmosphere, and constantly check to see that the input the learners receive is both attended to and understood. Even in doing so, they avoid direct comprehension checks so that the learners keep a low affective filter.

A significant assumption of this study is that comprehension, not production of the second language, is more important for second language acquisition. it has been suggested that opportunities for use in obligatory contexts are less related to morpheme acquisition than is input frequency. This implies, as Krashen and Terrell (1983) put it, that language is best taught when it is being used to transmit messages, not when it is explicitly taught for conscious learning (p.55).

1. Listening Comprehension

The requirement that input be comprehensible has several implications for classroom practice. First, it implies that whatever helps comprehension is important. This is why visual aids are so useful. They supply the non-linguistic context that helps the students to understand and thereby to acquire. Second, it implies that vocabulary is important. Grammar-based approaches to language teaching, such as the audio-lingual and cognitive-code methods, limit vocabulary in order to concentrate on syntax. It can be suggested that vocabulary should not be avoided. With more vocabulary, there will be more acquisition. A third implication is that in giving input, the ESL teacher should be concerned primarily with whether the students understand the message. The instructor need not be overtly concerned with whether they are using certain structures. As Krashen (1982) puts it, if the students understand the message, and if there is enough successful communication as a result of various devices examined in this study, comprehensible input will come on its own.

Another implication is that the classroom is a very good place for second language acquisition, especially at the beginning and intermediate levels. As Wagner-Gough and Hatch (1978) have pointed out, input to adult acquirers tends to be more complex syntactically. It is not always tied to the "here and now" (Cross, 1977), and adults must deal with a far wider range of topics. Because of this, adult beginners may not be able to understand much of what they hear around them, even if they are in the country where the target language is spoken. Natural input, in other words, unmodified input, is often too complex for beginners and can be difficult to utilize for language acquisition. This explains in part why they are likely to rely on "conscious learning."

As can be seen in this study, cmoprehension is closely related to a low "affective filter" (Dulay and Burt, 1977) which promotes low anxiety among students, and that keep students "off the defensive" (Stevick, 1976). That is, effective classroom input should be interesting and relevant to the immediate concern of the students. It could be extremely difficult for ESL curricula to provide their universal communication needs (Canale, 1983). The main point, however, is that students should be concerned with the message, not with the form, in order to bring their affective filter down.

2. Speaking

Traditionally, language teachers seem to have accepted a truism that a language is learned by speaking (Peck, 1980). Speaking is of course a primary goal of most ESL learners. The implication of this study is that we acquire from what we hear or read and understand, not from what we say. So far as second language acquisition is concerned, opportunities for practice in obligatory contexts are less related to acquisition than is input frequency. The best way to teach speaking is to focus on listening (or reading) and spoken fluency will emerge on its own (Krashen, 1982). For foreign language teaching, in situation where there is no vital need for early communication, speaking fluency can be encouraged to emerge in its own. For the ESL students who are actually in the country where English is used outside the classroom, speaking could be encouraged to a limited degree, via routines and patterns. In conversation, the ESL learners may have some degree of control of the topic, as seen in this and previous research (Long, 1981). They can signal to the partner that there is a conversation problem. In other words, learners can manage and regulate the input, and make it more comprehensible. In order to participate in conversation, there must be at least some talk. Speaking is important in that it stimulates conversation, which in turn will encourage more comprehensible input.

Finally, we have only focused on oral language input to second language learners. It would seem appropriate, however, to say that reading comprehension obtained from written input can serve as an important source of comprehensible input and may make a significant contribution to development of overall language proficiency (Krashen and Terrell, 1983, p.131). Clearly written input alone will not result in speaking fluency, due to the phonological factors as well as differences in spoken and written language. Comprehensible input gained in reading, however, may contribute to a general language competence that underlies both spoken and written performance (Oller, 1981). The importance of reading comprehension may bring about the reformulation of the once popular "listening-speaking-reading-writing" sequence in traditional teaching methods, such as audio-lingual and cognitive-code approaches in the ESL instruction. Current teaching methods put heavy emphasis on both oral and written comprehension, that is, comprehension (i.e., listening or reading) precedes production (i.e., speaking or writing). Thus, in the Natural Approach, for instance, the students are not forced to speak before they are ready (Krashen and Terrell, 1983). The hypothesis that reading may help acquisition has significant implications for those countries where the target language is rarely spoken outside the classroom instruction. The learners in the EFL situation can obtain comprehensible input from "pleasure reading" (Krashen, 1982). They have to get sufficient input from reading comprehension before they are asked to speak. Reading comprehension will help them to keep their affective filter low, and enhance their confidence in a second language.

Implications for Methodology in SLA Research

This study has focused on some evidence for how conversational structures provide comprehensibe input for the second language learners. One of the important implications conversational analysis has for the field of research on second language acquisition is the realization that language, speech acts, and cognitive ablities are inseparable (Stubbs, 1983). The use of input-output data makes it possible to examine the process which we are trying to reveal in our practice. In this way, utterances could be looked at in terms of their context rather than in sentence isolation.

How non-native speakers come to communicate effectively and meaningfully has rarely been examined. The purposes for which a native speaker uses language and interactional structures of a conversation are in some sense more relevant than other phenomena to questions of acquiring competence in a second language. This position is in agreement with Hymes (1972), who argues that command of a language involves more than knowledge of grammaticality.

Within the domain of conversational analysis , much has been a description on the opening and closing of conversations, the turn-taking system within conversation (Ervin-Tripp, 1974; Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson, 1974; Keenan, 1974; Ferguson, 1975; Scollon, 1976), and rerun system (how speakers fix up "trouble sources" to make their messages clear to the listener and to themselves). The work in the process of second language acquisition has been primarily concerned with the third area.

Since there are many "trouble sources" in conversations when one member of the conversational team does not know the language well, repairs, including self- or other-repetitions, are an important area of research. Research on how native speakers restructure their speech in interactions with non-native speakers (Hatch et al., 1975; Henzl, 1974; Arthur et al., 1980) has been especially helpful in explaining the process of second language acquisition. Gaskill (1977) and Schwartz (1980) have looked at the speech of the learner for his repairs.

However, given the assumption that comprehensible input is a causative factor in second language acquisition, the acquisition process seems to lie in a modification of interactional structure of the conversation, rather than in a modification of linguistic input _per se_, such as length and syntactic complexity of utterances, lexical diversity, etc. (Long and Sato, 1983, p.270). It is likely to fail in explaining the acquisition process to use only a pragmatic approach to assigning meaning to sentences, or even to define speech acts. To put it in other words, various modifications of linguistic input have to be looked at in the general structure of conversational interaction by using natural data.

The focus of this study is the link between linguistic abilities and cognitive performances in acquiring a second language. The research findings of this study supply additional empirical evidence for a weaker version of the cognitive hypotheses. That is, language and non-language developments are closely linked by an underlying source, common to them both (Schlesinger, 1982; Cummins, 1980; Bates, 1979). The close relationship between comprehensible input and interactional structures of conversations could make some predictions in ESL instruction. First, since the student who develops the requisite underlying source is likely to apply that source in both linguistic and non-linguistic domains, there are positive correlations. Second, since any experience which enhances the underlying source should spill over into any domain that depends on that base, we could expect positive training effects. Third, there is no need for particular sequences of development. In other words, if the two abilities are related by a third underlying source, there is no reason why the two dependent structures should emerge in any particular order. Any particular sequence may be an artifact of some other structure or environmental stimulation.

In this study, we have seen that comprehensible input results from interactional structures of conversation through attention-getting devices, negotiation works, clarification devices, and simplification of both linguistic items and speech acts. These interactional structures do affect the rate of language development, the manner of language acquisition, and the early functions of language. In other words, non-linguistic variables constrain and direct the source of language development. Consequently, some modification should be made on the "autonomous linguistic" perspectives, which denies the importance of non-linguistic factors in the study of second language development. At the very least, claims for innateness on evidence of universal aspects of acquisition must not ignore interactional structures of conversation in second language acquisition. Claims of universal acquisition patterns must be substantiated before they can be used as a premise in arguments for innateness.

C. Limitations of the Study

Throughout the course of the study, the interactional structure of conversation has been examined to relate this structure to comprehensible input. Although the analysis this study has proposed is interesting in many ways, there are nevertheless several limitations on this type of analysis. First, the nature of comprehensible input is entirely controlled by the non-native speaker. In this study, comprehensible input has been assumed to be any utterance and fragment which are marked by the modifications associated with the foreigner-talk discourse, and which is appropriately responded to by the non-native speaker. This does not guarantee that all input is understood by the non-native speaker, since some input may be far beyond his or her current language competence (Krashen, 1980). That is, this study has been operating with some margin of error.

Second, the subjects may have attended to processing information that would not be viewed as significant under other conversational interactions. Furthermore, they may not have utilized conversational interactions normally reserved for this form of conversation. This incident may have distorted the real interactional structure of conversation. In conjunction with this, another concern was related to the corpora examined. That is, the corpora were still small, even though they were collected on the basis of the longitudinal method. Consequently, if subjects had been reluctant or had had difficulty conversing with each other, the richness of the data and the insights that could be derived might have been curtailed.

A third concern involved the nature of only one situation sampled. Though most conversational analyses tend to focus on the relationship between speech acts and speech event, with the speech situation constant, changes in the situation in which the subjects interact might have produced considerable differences in the kind of data obtained.

Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) have proposed four criteria of adequacy which should be met by any description of discourse. First, the descriptive categories should be finite in number, otherwise there is only the illusion of classification. Second, the descriptive categories should be precisely relatable to their exponents in the data, otherwise the classification will not be replicable. Third, the descriptive system should give comprehensible coverage of the data, otherwise it is possible to ignore the inconvenient facts. Fourth, the description should place constraints on possible combinations of symbols, otherwise no structural claims are being made (p.15-17).

It seems to be clear that the kind of description which this study has proposed may or may not meet these criteria. It would seem appropriate to consider them briefly in turn. First, this study has proposed several categories for classifying language protocols, such as topic-initiating and topic-continuing moves, t-units (utterances), fragments, and clarification devices, etc. It seems clear that other related categories could also be proposed, depending upon the nature of research. Second, by concentrating on the functions of language, this study might have failed to give any precise description of the linguistic forms, which are supposed to come automatically in the process of second language acquisition (Krashen, 1982). Third, the data have been divided into three segments: utterances (t-units), fragments, and interjections to use relevant segments for data analysis. This study has focused on the directive and representative function of language. Fourth, the focus has been on interactional structure of conversation which helps the non-native speakers to obtain comprehensible input.

With all limitations, it should be noted that this was an exploratory study and these limitations, plus others, may contribute to the formation of further research questions and hypotheses.

D. Suggestions for Further Research

Detailed analyses of conversational data might reveal what elements of language the student could be acquiring through interactional structures of conversation. Some possible research might include the following:

1.What is the effect of context on the form and meaning of linguistic structure?

Although this is a question considered within the realm of theoretical linguistics, second language researchers should take it into account to determine the effect of context if they desire to study a particular structure for which no such description exists in the literature. It is impossible to trace the acquisition of a structure if one is ignorant of its variation within contexts. As Celce-Murcia (1980) puts it, it is imperative that ESL teachers learn to do contextual analysis in order to be able to provide for their students comprehensible input.

2. What discourse rules do second language learners violate?

This is a question which needs to focus again on the linguistic output of the learner. This time, however, the analysis of the data is accomplished from a discourse-level perspective. The source of learner errors would be impossible, as Godfrey (1980) puts it, if considered from a traditional sentence-level point of view. Research findings on this question would help to provide for the learner more comprehensible input.

3. How can we tell that a non-native speaker has "acquired" or "learned" a given unit of language because of discourse?

A working definition could be that the non-native speaker "acquires" or "learns" a word or structure enough to use it in following utterances. But is this definition enough? In this study, comprehensible input could be defined as modified utterances addressed to the non-native speakers which is appropriately responded to. Further research could focus on establishing well-defined criteria to make a decision, just as obligatory contexts in morpheme studies.

4. How can we best explain what a second language learner is "acquiring" through discourse?

In analyzing transcriptions of spontaneous speech, well-defined units have to be established to include every bit of segments in data analyses. It seems necessary to determine critera for turn-taking systems, the notion of topics, and some units for utterances in the domain of second language acquisition.

5. What can conversational analysis contribute to the optimal age issue?

Conversational analysis could be used to explain the differential success between child and adult learners of a second language. Researchers on second language acquisition have attempted to explain this issue, in terms of biological factors, affective factors, motivation, time allotment, cerebral dominance, and learning conditions. However, as Hatch (1978) and Long (1981) put it, conversational input to children and adults of ESL varies considerably. Scarcella and Higa (1981) found that adult native speakers do much more "negotiation work" in conversation with younger second language learners than they do with older learners. Research findings on conversational analysis will be able to explain explicitly the differential success between child and adult learners of a second language.

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX

The audio recordings of the conversations were transcribed according to conversational analysis transcription techniques developed by Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1974). Names of subjects were omitted in the whole corpora. Errors made by the subjects were not corrected at all.

Statistics

	T - T	AP- T	NNS- T
Total t-units and fragments	841	804	1946
Total t-units	729	706	1789
Framed t-units	396	224	850
Self-repetition	141	122	489
Total turns encoded in t-units	379	393	1147
Total words in t-units	5578	3711	8708
Total s-nodes embedded in t-units	986	822	2037

TRANSCRIPTION SYMBOLS

-	cutoff speech, usually self-interrupted
(:)	sound is held (no::)
=	latching, one sound seems tied to the next
(.)	pause
( )	transcriber's comment
?	rising, question intonation
/ /	interruption, speakers in overlap
[ ]	simultaneous start resulting in overlap; the second bracket shows where the overlapped speech ends
??	no response
xx	unintelligible (indistinguishable) utterance
xxx	names of subjects.

A. TEACHER TALK

Tape #1, Jan. 13. 1983.

T: Alright, xxx. You read the next part.
S: Color this line green.
T: Alright, we'll mark the coloring a green.
S: Color this line yellow.
T: Okay, the next one will be yellow.
S: The green line is five kilometers long.
T: It's five what?
S: Ah (2x). Centimeters.
T: Alright, centimeters (.) long.
T: Alright, xxx, what's that?
S: The yellow line is ten centimeters long.
T: Good.
T: Alright, xxx, your question?
S: The yellow line is-the green line is five
centimeters long?
Ss: Uuh.
T: Alright, yes.
S: Do you xx (mean) this one?
T: We didn't do that. No that one.
Okay, next one, xxx?
S: Color this line yellow.=
T: Right.
S: Color this line green.
A green is three centimeters long.=
T: Alright, the next one?
S: A yellow line is six centimeters long.=
T: Right.
S: A yellow line are twice as(.)long as the green lines.
The yellow (:) uh the yellow/
T: /the green/
S1: You are wrong.
S: The green / /lines are half as long as the yellow
lines.
T: /lines/
T: Alright, xxx?
S: The yellow lines are twice as long as the green
line-lines.
T: Do you know the difference, now, between half and the
word twice?=
S: Can I?
T: No (2x), I'm still speaking.
You know the difference now between
twice and half?
Ss: Yes(2x)
T: Alright, any questions about this page?
Alright, let's start to measure now on the next page.
S: May I?
T: Alright, the first one. Go very slowly, though.
I'll point to the line and you mark your work.
S: Eight centimeter? seven centimeter, an(:)d

four centimeters. /
T: /I'm going down. /
S: Oh. um. That's nine(.) centimeter.
T: Nine what?
S: Centimeters?
T: Alright, I want you to hear your sound.
S: Nine centimeters.
T: Okay, this one. It goes like this.
S: Foruteen centimeters?
S1: Which one?
T: This one.
S: It's fourteen centimeters.
T: Okay, xxx.
S: Fifteen centimeters.=
T: xxx, the one. That goes in three different ways.
S: And four-sixteen centimeters.
T: Now, to the top?
S: Four centimeters, six centimeters, eight centimeters.
T: Alright, and that should be all.
How many marks, xxx?
S: One, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eitht, nine.
T: Alright, xxx, read what it tells you to do first.
S: Read?
T: Uh huh.
S: Use cotton xx teen / /fifteen centi-centimetes.
T: /fifteen/
S: Draw lines o(:)f the colored lines.
T: Okay, what kind of lines are these, xxx?
S: Look like circle.
T: What are they called in the book?
Ss: Curve.=
T: Curved. Alright, now, the reason we call this a curve is they are not straight and they bend so we call them a curved/ /line.
Ss: /line/
T: Okay, whereas the opposite of the curved line is going to be a straight line, you have a measure these curved lines. Alright, go ahead, xxx. I'll point to it. You will tell me how long it is.
S: Eight centimeter?
T: Centimeters.
S: Centimeters.
T: Alright, if you had eight or nine, we'll mark it correct, because some of you pulled your string a little bit too tight. What you were supposed to do is hold string quite loosely and then measure. Some of you were pulling.
T: Alright, why is it harder(.) to measure a curved line than a straight line?
Why is it harder to measure a curved line/
S: /I know, please./
T: than to measure
a straight line? Alright, xxx?

S: Because like whenver you measure a straight line
like your ruler is straight an(:)d your measure
seems straight is more easier/ /than
T: /Alright/
S: curved.
T: You could use a straigh edge ruler to measure
straight and it's much easier than having to
keep it straight.
Alright, would you all go over to page sixteen?
T: Now, we're going to put some words on this piece
of paper. Over here, you have some room.
I want you to write these three words down.
Use pencil if you want-in case you make a mistake.
S: I don't have my pencil.
T: Width(.), length and height. Width.
S: Width (3x).
T: Width, length, and height. (2x)
Now, write them one under the other.=
S: Is the word white or what?
T: Width (3x, pronouncing the sound of /θ/)
S: th (sound)
T: Width means how (.) wide something is.
If I measure from this wall to that wall,
I am measuring how wide (.) the room is.
Understand?
Ss: Uh huh.
T: Alright, xxx, what's the word now that I'll
want for how long (.) something is?=
S: I know.
T: How long?
S: Can I?
T: Length (3x).
So, if I were to measure how long the room is,
I would be finding the length. Alright, what was
the next one I came to?
S: Height, it is how high.
T: Alright, or how tall is it, right?
Ss: Yeah (2x).
T: If somebody asks you what is your height in
centimeters, they will want to know how tall
you are from the floor to the top of your head.
T: Alright, I'm going to point to words and I
want you to say them out loud, and I will point
to them in a certain order. xxx, are you about
ready?
S: ??
T: Say them to yourself xx.
And see what you can. (.)
S: (practice)
T: Practice them by yourself.=
S: How do you say "width"?
T: Width (2x), a hard word to say.
You have to come with a /θ/ (sound) at the end.
Width.

S: Width (practice).
T: Width, length, and height.
S: (practice)
T: Alright, let's try this.
Ss: How long, how high or tall, how wide.
T: Alright. (pointing to "width")
Ss: Width
T: Alright, watch your mouths.
Ss: Width. (4 times)
T: Alright, did your tongues come to your teeth?
Ss: Width.
T: Width, doesn't it sound like a "D" at the end?
Ss: Yes, width.
T: Now, this one is a /θ/ (sound), isn't it?
Ss: "th," "th," (sound) length.
T: Length, are you blowing out? Length, "th" (sound).
Ss: Length (2x).
T: Okay, there's a difference between the two.
Ss: Length, width.
T: Width, length, where do you find the difference is?
S: Uh, that looks like uh-like sounds like "D." (sound)
T: Right.
S: An(:)d that sounds like/ /
T: /t/ /t/ (3x)./
Ss: Height (3x).
T: Height, alright, what do you hear at the end of "height"?
Ss: Height (3x).
T: Alright, so, these are words that we're going to be using in these exercises now. (.) What's this word?
S: Me?
T: Yes,
S: Tall (.), how high? (.) height? (sounds like "white.")
Ss: Height (2x), /h/ (3x, laughing)
T: Alright.
S: Am I right?
T: Right.
S: Width (sounds like "white.")
T: Width.
S: Width.
T: Width.
S: Width.
T: Alright, xxx?
S: Width, length, height.=
S1: White (laughing).
S2: Now, these are easy.
S1: How wide, / how wide /
T: /Now, we don't /- we don't hear Canadians say how/
S: /wide /(laughing)
T: Alright.
Ss: How wide, how long, how high or tall.
T: Alright, let's do this bumble-bee one together. And then you can do the rest yourself.

Get your ruler? You have to have a ruler for
measuring. We are using a ruler for measuring.
S: What kind of ruler?
T: Alright, the first one there, xxx.
Can you read what the picture. (.)
S: A picture can be larger than the relly object.=
T: Real/ /object.
Ss: /object /
T: Now somebody drew this.=
S: What?
T: But a bee is not / this big. /
Ss: /not that big /
S: I know. (2x)
T: So, that means sometimes a picture can be bigger
than the real thing, or the real object.
Next, xxx, what does it tell you to do?
S: Meesu(:)
T: How do you say that? It's "measure." (2x)
S: Measure this picture of a bee. In the picture
the bee is (.) centimeters wi/ /wide and
T: /wide/
S: (.) centimeter high.
T: Right. Do that. You are going to find out how
wide and ho(:)w.
S: How we do it?
T: Alright, xxx, what you are going to measure with
your ruler is to find out how wide. We are going
to go from tip of the wing to tip of the widest
part.
S: May I give him right answer, Miss xxx?
T: Now listen. You're-we're not following instructions.
It asks you how wide it is. So, you got to measure
from one side to the other, to the tip of one
wing to the tip of the other.
S: Miss, xxx, do we count these?
Do we um measure these, too?
S1: Eight.=
S2: I know.
S3: It's eight.
T: Okay, how many of you measured eight?
Ss: Me(:), me.
T: Now, what are we going to do for how high?
What do we measure for how high?=
S: I know.
T: You're going to go from the top to the (..)
[bottom.]
Ss: [bottom]
T: You have to measure the body of the the bee.
So, go from the top of its head (.) to the tip
of its tail.
Ss: Five.
S: It's almost five.
T: Okay, you're going to have to move yours up,
because you want to start right at that little

mark.
Ss: It's five.
S: Almost five (2x).
T: Alright, it's between four a(:)nd five, isn't it?
Ss: five
T: It's closer to five, I would say.
S: Yes.
T: So, you would write five centimeters tall or high.
Alright, now, xxx, what does it ask us?
S: Smaller or bigger. The picture is something xx
th-the/
T: /than/
S: than uh / real bee.
T: / than a real/
Alright, what do you have here?
S: ??
T: Alright, now read the sentence back to me.
S: The picture is bigger than a real bee.
T: Right.(.) Alright, you will very often find this,
that sometimes pictures are bigger than the
real thing. But more often they ar(:)e [smaller]
than the real thing.
Ss: [smaller]
S: What does it mean?
T: What does it mean, xxx says?
S1: Bee (laughter).
S: I mean the last sentence.
T: Alright, xxx, you read the last sentence for us.
S: Color the bee. What color will you use?
T: Alright, what color do you suppose a bee might
be, xxx?
S: Uh, yellow, black, yellow, black or a brown,
black, uh, brown (2x), yellow or uh, sometimes.
T: Alright, we are going to make this a Canadian
bee and Canadian bees are yellow with brown and
black stripes.
S: You know my countries bees?
T: We're going to make this a Canadian bee(.)
Okay, can you find her a picture of a Canadian bee,
xxx? Can you find us a picture there some place?
S: Sure.
T: Would you find a bee in the picture of birds?
Alright, here, xxx.
S: Oh, what's this?
T: That's a Canadian bee.

Tape #2, Jan. 20. 1983.

T: Alright, first of all, xxx, we are looking at
a picture of a(:)
Ss: rectangle (2x)
T: What are we looking at-this is a picture of a(:)
table.
Ss: /table/

T: So, let's put table in our blank here.
This is a picture of a/ /
Ss: /pencil /
T: This is a picture of a/ /
Ss: /table/
T: Alright, now, you go ahead and do this part first,
and let's see whether you can color the right plan.
S: Color to red?
T: Read what it says, xxx, rea(:)d.
S: Oh, give me blue. (2x)
T: xxx, this is the thing to do. You start from the
left. Read the question, and go over the right
of the page.
S: ??
T: We've got to start learning to follow directions
by ourselves for a change (.)
What does it say?
S: ??
T: Alright, xxx, read the sentence under the picture.
S: Okay, it's a picture of uh(:)
T: It doesn't say that, xxx. Read what is there.
S: This is a picture of a can.
T: Alright, let's put that down with our pens, please(.)
This is a picture of a(:) [can.]
Ss: [can]
T: Is that correct, /xxx? /
S: / How about/ a tin of fruit? (.)
T: Alright, xxx, what does it say-ask us to do here.
S: Which is the plan of a tin of fruit-fruit.
Color the plan red.
T: Alright.
S: I know.
T: In other words, if I have a can of fruit and I
have to look from abo(:)ve, right?
What is the plan, xxx?
S: ??
T: You're not listening again.
S: I know. (2x)
T: We must follow one step after another(.) So, xxx?
S: Re(:)d?
Ss: (laughter)
T: I didn't ask you the color. What is the plan or
or the shape of what we are looking at?
S: Circle?
T: A circle?
Ss: Yeah (3x).
T: xxx, what color do we make the plan?
S: oh, red.
S1: He makes the circle red.=
T: Alright, color the circle red.
Mr. Kim (reseacher), what we are doing, we're
starting mapping skills very simply and then
we work with the more difficult. They all need
help with mapping skills and I find they are really

and I find they are really lacking in geography.
So, before we could use an atlas or anything
like that,we have to introduce a lot of very
basic things.
S: Can we do now?
T: Well, you go back and finish what I tell
you to do at the top and at the bottom.
What else does it tell you?
You didn't finish the top yet.=
S: Not even the bottom.
T: xxx?/ /Pay attention to
S: /Can I have a new pile?/
T: what you're doing(.) Alright, finish what it
tells you to do here.
S: Sure.
S1: Color all the xx blue.
T: xxx, what else do we have to do here?
We didn't finish something here.
What else do we have to do?
xxx, I'm speaking to you.
S: Color the object.
S1: Object?
S2: [Other]
S3: [Color] the other.
T: Alright, so what are you going to do?(.)
Alright, ahead and do that(.)
xxx, she's already read the instructions to you.
What are you going to do for this top part?
S: What?
S1: Oh, color.
T: Do you understand?(.) Are you listening?
Would it help to listen? So, get your colors.
S: Uh uh, can you explain uh last one? last?
T: Last one?
S: Uh
T: We're not there yet, aren't we?
We're still working on finishing this.
What are we going to do with this?
S: It's blue.
T: Okay, where does it tell you to do that, xxx?
S: In this.
T: Right.
T: Alright, when you finish this page or this page,
see what you can do with the next ones
by yourself(.) Try to see what you can do
by yourself.
S: Ooh!
T: There are all those crayons in the box there? (.)
We're going to change the instructions, first.
S: We have to color all these?
T: Yes.
S1: I hate coloring.
S2: (laughing)
S3: Not now, maybe not today(.) Not today.

S4: Yes.
T: xxx, what are you doing out of your desk, xxx?
S: We have to do this, other one?
I don't know how to do it.
T: xxx, what were the instructions given to you?
S: ??
T: What did I tell you, you can do.
After you finish page four, you try page five
by yourself.
T: Remember plan means to look at an object from
above, looking down at something. So, you're
going to have to pretend that you're above this,
that you're sort of flying in the clouds and
looking down on this. What shape would you see? (.)
S: Oh, I know. School.
S1: It's not school. It's a house.
S2: Don't tell (2x), xxx. Who do you think you are?
S1: Okay.
T: Just put down what you think it is.
S: I don't know.
T: Do you suppose there are people that have a big
house like that?=
S: Yeah, me. I live in(:).
T: Alright, some of you say, me.
Ss: I-I.
T: Does anyone in here have such a big house?
Ss: No(::)
S: I think it is not the-his house.
T: But do you suppose there might be some families
in Edmonton that/ /might have a house?
S: /Yeah, of course/
I saw a house. I don't know(::) who it is.
There are two big houses(.)/
T: /in the one house?/
S: Yeah.
T: Alright, so some of you might think this is a house.
Also, in Edmonton, we do have some old schools that
look like this, too. So, we'll give you the mark
if you had house or school.
S: Okay, I like (.) xx school.
T: This is only a-one part word.
There's only one vowel. This is what we call
a-one part word. So, don't say words. Word.
It's a-one part word.
S: Word.
T: Sit down, please, alright?
S: I'll color the pictures.
T: Alright, what words do we have?
S: The co-co uh racing car?
Shib, shib.
T: Remember what I told you with that "p."
You get your two lips together.
S: Shib.
T: Ship (making /p/ sound)

S: Ship.
T: That's better, alright.
S: Shoe.
T: Shoe or shoes?
S: Shoes.
T: Alright, so what are you going to do first?
S: Uh(:)
T: Copy it in there and then-and then what will you do?
S: Uh(:) color.
T: Color what?
S: Yellow color, yellow.
T: Color the pictures? Say pictures.
S: Fictures.
T: Not fictures, p, p, p, p.(making /p/ sound)
S: Yeap (laughing)
T: You try again.
Ss: (making /p/ sound)
S: p, p, p, pictures.
T: That's better. We're trying to get xxx to say /p/ sound. He didn't like to bring his two lips together. I know it's a hard sound to make. You really have to work at it. Some words, xxx, when we say /p/ sound, you can feel air come out.
S: (making /p/ sound)
T: Then, you know you've made a "p."
S1: picycle
Ss: (laughing)
T: Alright, first one, we'll work out fifteen words(.) Alright, xxx, number one (.) or two, rather.
S: They burn things. I don't know(.)
Who's know it?=
T: They burn things. Anybody got that?
S: Oh, I got.
S1: Stove?
T: Stove?
S: Oh, I don't think so.(2x)
S2: /I know./
T: / No, /we'll come back/ /to this one.
S: /I know/
T: [We'll] just leave/ /it as a blank.
S: [Miss,]xxx /I know/
S1: Can I? Next one?
S2: Fire.
S3: No, I don't/ /think so.
Ss: /No/
S4: Fires.
T: Alright, don't put it in.
We'll see whether it fits after we're all done.
How's that?=
S: Can I tell(.) number five?=
T: Alright, xxx?

S: Uh(:) uh tennis is a sport.
S1: Yeah.
T: Now, tennis is a sport. Tennis is a game.
Hockey is a game.
S: Hockey is a sport.
T: Hockey is a game.
S: Game.
T: So, a game is something we can play and it is
a kind of sport.
Do not fill in number two until we know for sure.
Alright, the next one, xxx?
S: Number six? See picture. Bag?
T: What is it?
S: Bag.
S1: Number six. See picture. Bag.
T: A bag?
S: Yeah, B, A, G. (provides the spell)
T: That's it.
Ss: Yeah, yes.
S: B, A, G. (provides the spell)
S1: Can I believe you? You did'nt (.) see.
S: Eight, a drink made of lemon-lemo(:)n
T: This is a drink/ / that many Canadians
S: /I know/
T: drink/ / in the summer.
S1: /I know/ I know, can I?
S: Lemonade.
T: How do you spell it, xxx?
S: L, E, M, O, N, A, D, E.
S1: Miss, xxx, how about lemon juice?
S2: N, D, A, N, E, D.
S3: I'm wrong again.
T: Now, you will find many-many drinks in the
store in cans and packages.=
Ss: Yes.
T: And these drink things come in-in [ades.]
S: [ades]
T: Alright, kool-ade, lemonade, limeade,
that means a kind of drink.
Alright, xxx, the next one. Number ten.
S: You and I went
T: You went to the school this morning.
I went to the school this morning.
We went to the school this morning.
S1: We went fishing.
T: I'm asking xxx, please.
S2: Yeah, xxx, you hate this school.
T: Alright, number eleven, xxx.
S: Okay, eleven, um it gets dark when the sun
ha(:)s-eleven- set.
T: Alright, the sun has come down in the sky
and has settled down for the night, we say
the sun ha(:)s [set.]
Ss: [set]

S1: Where do I put the next one?
T: Alright, the next one, xxx?
S: Wher's uh uh
T: We already did that one. Number thirteen, xxx.
S: ??
T: Well, I want you to read the sentence-the
sentence now with the word in it.
Let's just one person read at a time.
S: ??
T: xxx?
S: Ice.
T: Well, read the sentence.
S: Oh, uh water becomes ice when it is very cold.
T: How many had that one?
Ss: Me, me.
T: Next one, xxx.
S: Uh I like to(::) something(::)-some(.)
T: Alright, xxx, this is a word.
That's for you, because I heard you saying,
"TOASTIE."
S: Toastie.
T: Alright, this is a-one part word and it has
only one sounded vowel in it, "o." So, you-you
say then, "TOAST."
S: Toast (2x).
T: Alright, xxx, now read the sentence.
S: I like to(::) some toast.
T: What can you do with toast?
Do you know what toast is, xxx? (.)
Toast is bread that you heat up, and it
becomes brown on the outside after you
put it into a toaster.
S1: Miss, xxx, I know.
T: What would you do with toast?
Warm Brea(:)d./ /what would you do with it?
Ss: /I know (2x)/
S: Eat.
T: You would eat it. Eat.
S1: Oh, then ten is not fit.
S2: ⌈Yes, ⌉ it fits.
S3: ⌊Yeah.⌋
T: Okay, we have to do the down ones now, don't we?
Alright, xxx, you're next.
S: Oh, okay, uhm see picture uh one girl-apple.
S1: One girl.
T: xxx, I want you to say, "apple."
S: A(:)pple (2x).
S1: A(:)pple (laughter, imitating xxx's sound)
S: Apple.
T: Apple, that's better.
S: Apple.
T: Alright, remember letter "p" is made with both
our lips. They have to meet.
S1: App, app.

T: Yes, app, p, p, p. (making /p/ sound)
Ss: Apple (2x).
T: And sometimes there's a little puff of air.
Ss: p, p, p. (making /p/ sound)
T: Now, if some air-if some air comes out in apple,
you have said it right.
Ss: Apple (2x).
T: Alright, next, xxx?
S: My
T: Mary
S: Mary go-got lite-lite? / / letter.
T: /letter /
Okay, what would fit in there now?
S: I don't know that.
T: If you get a letter/ /
S1: /from her mother /
T: Okay, now read the whole sentence.
S: Mary got a letter from her mother.
T: Alright.
T: Alright, xxx, how do you say these two letters
together?
S: (making "sp" sound)
T: What does this say?
S: SP
T: SP. Now, I am adding an "E" at the end.
S: SPED.
T: I want to hear an "A."
S: SPADE.
T: SPADE. Now, a little tool that you use in the
garden is called a spade. See that picture
of it there.
S: Yes.
T: I'm sure your mom must have one f those at home.
Ss: Yes.
T: xxx, next.
S: Number nine. See picture. (2x) Orangy?
T: What do you call this?
S: Orangy?
T: Orange (2x).
S: Orange.
S1: Can I do this one, please?
T: See if you say orange. That means
that would be a two part word, and this
word is not orangy (2x).
S: Orange (2x).
T: Next, xxx?
S: Uh which is bigger, James' doll or Andy's?
S1: Miss, xxx, can you say orange?
Let me help him?
T: What would have fit in if we had a square?
S1: May I?
T: xxx.
S: This is the last word uh in the puzzle.
T: I know, xxx. I want you to say puzzle for me.

S: Fuzzle.
T: How do you say it?
S: Fuzzle.
T: Puzzle (2x).
S: Puzzle (2x).
T: Let's try it again.
S: Puzzle (2x).
T: There you have it.
Okay, all you people are talking at once.
If you have a question you put up your
hand, xxx?
S: xx
T: Pardon me?
S: That's fires.
T: Alright, fire was taken.
T: This is a good review because we haven't
had these words for quite a while, isn't it?
Alright, xxx, next?
S: Next one i(:)s-the guy is Mrs. B(::)'s cousin.
T: Alright, we look at this G.=
S1: Oh, no way, son.
T: Mrs. D's son, right? We've done this about
a couple of months before.
Ss: Yes, yeah.
S1: On language arts.
T: Alright, xxx, going down.
S: Uh Miss D is a woman.
T: xxx?
S: F-E is F's uh brother?
T: Right. They are a sister and brother.
S1: Can I?
T: xxx.
S: Mr. D is E's uncle.
T: Mr. D is E(:)'s uncle.
xxx?
S: Mr.-Mrs. C-Mr. D
T: No, number five (2x).
S: Mrs. C and Mr. /
T: /is /
S: is Mr. D(:)'s /
S1: /I know, uh may I? /
S: sister.
T: Alright, xxx?
S: H is a girl?
T: xxx?
S: Mrs. A is M-Mrs.-Mr. A is Mrs. C'es brother.
T: Mrs. C's
S: Mr. C's-Mrs. C's brother.
T: Alright, xxx.
S: Mr. C is a man.
T: Now, I want someone to tell me what this story
is about. I just started reading it to you
yesterday.
S: I know, plea(:)se.

T: Alright, xxx.
S: Okay, there is a man catched a bear and wants
to go for um to the cattle? And they are working
xx like and they want to ask the hog? They saw
a hog and they want like they ask um the people
if they could stay one night? A(:)nd the like uh
we-we don't have to stay on the like bed. We
don't-like we just stay there. That's like uh
it's okay for us and the people is very good and
very kind, too. And they leave the house until
tomorrow they come back. They let them stay for
one night.
T: Alright, anybody else, xxx.
S: A(:)nd the gob-goblins. That come on the house
and eat everything.
Ss: Yeah, yes.
T: Alright, now these little goblins in this story
are call(:)ed/ /Tro(:)lls, Trolls.
Ss: /Trolls (2x)/
T: Alright, again, this is just another word for those
awful looking evil kind of people who are called
Trolls. Alright, I think we have a pretty good idea
of where we left off yesterday. What part of the
world did this story take place in? Where in the
world did this story take place?
S1: I know.
T: Alright, xxx?
S: Finland (2x).
T: Finland a(:)nd/ / Denmark.
S: /Denmark /
S1: I know where it is.
T: Where can you find it? (.) Alright, while he's
looking for that on the globe, we'll look inside.
Okay, this man came from Finland and he wants to
take this bear to the king of Denmark.
S1: That's so far away.
T: There's some water in between them that he has
to cross.
S2: How come (2x), he live on a very small country?
T: Well, don't you live in a very small country?
There are lots of small countries in the world,
isn't it?
Ss: Yeah.
T: Alright, so the people left and the people that
had left got everything ready for the Trolls who
were going to come to the house. Remember that?
Ss: Yes, yeah.
T: O(:)kay, the tables were laid, and there were rice
porridge and fish boiled in xx and sausages and
all else that was good, just as for any other
grand feast. Remember?
Ss: Yeah, yes.
T: We have had this word(.) feast lots of times.
S1: I know. That's(.)

T: Alright, somebody tell me what it is.
Ss: I know. (2x)
T: Alright, xxx?
S: Feast is a big table with lots of food?
T: When we have a nice party usually we
have lots of food to eat. We call that
nice food on the table a feast.
Now, so when everything was ready, down came the
Trolls. Some were great and some were small.
Some had long tails and some had no tails at all.
Some too, had long-long noses. You can see
from the picture. They're kind of different
looking, aren't they? What's another word
for different in this picture? Are they
kind of strange?
S1: Yes, strange looking.
T: Alright, they're kind of strange-looking.
And they ate and drank and tasted everything.
How would you like to have a nose like
that, xxx? Do you think you can smell better?
S: Yeah, longer and longer.
T: Alright, look what's happening now?
Look at the picture and tell me what's happeing.
S1: I know.
S2: I know. Can I?
S3: I Know. (2x)
S4: That guy has just one eye.
T: Alright, what is happening in this picture?
S: This one is a bowl of porridge.
T: Porridge, alright, what else?
S: This one-this one is the uh
S1: Uh they are fighting with.
Uh they are eating all the food.
T: Do you suppose that they are fighting with
each other over the food?
Ss: Yes.
T: Alright, just then one of the little Trolls caught
sight of the white bear who lay under the stove.
So he took a piece of sausage and stuck it on
the end of a fork and poked it up against the
bear's nose, screaming out, "pussy, will you
have some sausage?"
Ss: (laughing)
T: Now is this a pussy?
Ss: No(::)
T: Well he calls him a pussy. Then the white
bear rolls up and the hunters, the whole pack
of them, out of doors, both great and small.
What did he do to them, xxx?
S: Scan (meaning "scare")
Ss: (laughing)
T: What did the bear do to the Trolls? Look at the
picture. I read to you now.
S1: Can I?

T: Alright, xxx?
S: He scared them away.
T: He scared them away. Look at the teeth in his
mouth.
S: I don't want to see his teeth.
T: Next year Halver was out in the wood on the
afternoon of Christmas Eve, cutting wood before
the holidays, for he thought the Trolls would
come again(.) And just as he was hard at work,
he heard a voice in the wood, calling out,
"Halver, Halver." "Well," said Halver, "here,
I am." "Have you got your big cat with you?"
Ss: Yes.
T: "Yes, that I have," said Halver, "She is lying
at home under the stove, and what's more, She has
now got seven kittens far bigger and fiercer
than she is herself." So what are they thinking
about in their minds?
S: They're thinking about those big bears.
T: All the big bears are probably living in this
big house, like kittens do, with their mother
cat(.) "Oh, then we'll never come to see you
again," called out the Troll away in the wood,
and he kept his word, for since that time
the Trolls have never eaten their Christmas
meal with Halver on xx.
S: Why not?
T: Alright, why didn't they come back?
S: Because they're afraid of-afraid of that bears?
T: Right. And the Trolls thought the bear was
a(:) [kitten.]
Ss: [Kitten]
T: So they're not going to come back any more.
T: Alright, now I want you to take/ /take
Ss: /Social/
your social studies.
xxx, what did I ask you to take out?
S: Uh social.
T: We'll start from the top here and work down.
And everything will be worth one mark each.
S: Right.
T: xxx, we'll start with you.
What does it tell you to do first?
S: Uh um mis-measure?
T: Right at the top. What's the title of the page?
S: It is-it is measure.
T: Alright, this is the word, measure, xxx.
S: Measure.
T: Alright, we a(:)re/ / using our ruler.
S1: /it's measure/
T: and they tell us to measure.
S: Measure.
T: Measure, okay, when your mother cooks at home,
she will measure things. If your mother sews

something, she will measure the cloth. But this time your are measuring how long a line is, measure, alright?
S1: Measure this-these lines.
T: Alright, noxt one?
S: Color these lines red.
T: Alright, put a check mark if you did that. Keep going, xxx.
S: Col-color these lines blue. Uh the yellow line is ten centimeters long.
T: Alright, how many of you think that is correct?
Ss: Yes (3x).
T: Next?
S: The blue line is five centimeters long.
T: Good.

Tape #5, Feb. 10. 1983.

T: Now, okay, anybody else need any help?
S1: Me.
S2: Miss xxx?
T: Yes.
S2: Somebody aren't following.
T: Pardon me?
S2: Somebody aren't.
T: Somebody isn't following directions?
S2: Yeah.
S3: No(::)
T: Oh, you don't have to grade. I have to give you special instructions to grade.
S: I know how to grade.
T: Anybody else need help?
S: No(:)
S1: How about male and female?
T: Any other questions, xxx?
S: No(:)
T: Go on next.
Okay, let's go on to the next part. We have a white box. And in it it says sex, alright?
Ss: Yeah (2x).
T: So those of you who are boys, you are a male. You fill that in. Girls, you are a female. So you fill in the "F." The males are boys or men. Females are girls and ladies or women.
S1: How about grandmother.
T: Okay, your grandmother.
S2: How about grandpa?
S3: No. man.
T: Alright, next one. Grade.
Alright, I have a special instruction here for Mr. Blackwood. Alright, all you fill in "Eight."
S1: Eight? (2x)
T: Would you all fill in number "Eight"?
S1: I'm just five.

T: xxx, what did your teacher just tell you?
S: Fill in(:)
T: Fill in number "Eight." Eight is going to stand
for ESL(.) Next one's where it says "Semester."
S: Yes.
T: And fill in "Fall." All of you fill in "Fall."
S1: Miss xxx, us now, what grade I am?
T: You're not in any grade in here, alright?
It's sort of a mixed up of everything(.)
S2: Oh, yeah.
T: Now, I want to warn you that when Mr. Blackwood
comes in make sure that all of you have a pencil
and it's been very well sharpened and have an
eraser. So in case you want to erase your answers,
you can do so.
S3: How about this part?
T: Alright, this part is not for us. What happens to
these sheets? Mr. Blackwood sends them into another
place, and all these sheets go through a big machine
and the machine looks at all the marks that you have
made, and the machine then leaves a big sheet for Mr.
Blackwood to have a look at about each of you.
In other words, the machine takes your answers and
puts them onto a very big sheet. And that big sheet
is sent back to Mr. Blackwood and then he looks at it
and sees how he can work with students here. You know
Mr. Blackwood is not only a very fine teacher. He is
a guidance counsellor. So anytime you ever want to
talk to him about something, that's what he is here
for, to help you in some way. If something is
bothering you, for example, something that you really
like to talk about, Mr. Blackwood xx (is here in
school). And all of you know Mr. Blackwood. You know
he's a very nice-a very nice man and he welcomes
people in his office anytime. So he is called
a guidance councellor. Alright? xxx, would you go
and collect one from each person? And the rest
of you take out your diary this morning.
T: Mr. Kim (researcher), yesterday we had a lady
here from the dental clinic speaking to the
children, and she spoke about teeth, teeth and
their care, and she had some very good models
here of teech, and she showed all of us how to
brush our teeth. And each person got a kit
containing a tooth brush, tooth paste and
some tablets, to detemine how well they had
brushed their teeth. Now, how many people
brush their teeth quite well?
Ss: Me (3x), yeah.
T: Alright, let's see whether you can remember
what that lady is called, okay?
What is her job?
Ss: Oh, I know. (2x)
T: Don't tell. We are going to talk about it later.

S1: Nurse?
T: She's not a nurse. Remember. We have a different
name for this lady. Don't put down the dentist
first. We want you to put down what her job is(.)
What was that lady called? We don't want to know.
I mean her real name is Mrs. Kozicki.
But what particular name of job does she have?
S1: I know. Mr. Kozicki gave me xx.
S2: Don't tell.
T: What did she talk about? And those of you who don't
know how to spell, if you look back at your
dictionary, we(::)-we put the word into our
dictionary under letter "D." If you've forgotten
how to spell, that's why we need these dictionaries.
Look that.
S1: Miss xxx, how do we spell?
They don't have that-um-there's only word like
that, floss. FLOSS.
T: Uh huh.
Alright, what did she tell us about? What did she
talk about? What did she tell us? What did she
say? Harmful, but(.) How do you take care about,
please?
S: I brush.
T: Okay, brush carefully.
Al(:)right, what was-will she talk to. What did you
find very interesting, and something that I'm sure
you will remember. I found certain things very,
very interesting. That's the things I have never
known before.
T: One more word. Yesterday the something-something
visit(:)ed/
S1: /you /
T: Well, what does it say here?
S: It's a(:)
T: What did she speak about? What did she tell us?
S2: What did she say?
T: Al(:)right.
What two things did you learn?(.) What did she talk
to us yesterday? I can remember new things.
I thought I knew everything there was to know
about teeth, but I found out some new things
yesterday.
S1: Yeah, brush up and xx.
T: What did you find the most interesting? What did
you really enjoy most(.) about her talk yesterday?
S1: How to spell "take care"?
T: You knew how to spell "take."
It rhymes with "cake." How do you spell that?
S: T(:) E(:)
T: Can you spell? CAKE, LAKE, MAKE, alright?
S: ??
T: I hear-I hear another sound in there.
S: Oh, no.

T: So what you've given me is this (writing down)
I hear something else in there, I hear.
Listen to my word, CAKE.
S: CAKE?
T: Al(:)right, now how do you spell "take"?
S: TAKE
T: Yeah, alright. Remember our cue to spelling
new words is always to think of some rhyming word
If you spell a rhyming word, then you can spell
new one.
T: Which word?
S: Happen
T: Happen? What happens?
S: Happens, what happens?
T: What happens? OKay, this means(.) you all were
supposed to have tried the dental kit last night,
taken the tablet after you brushed your teeth.
What happened? What did you notice in your mouth?
S1: Oh, I didn't try it.
T: That's what this means. Now if you didn't try it,
you still copy this down and you'll fill it in
on Monday after you have tried it, right?
Still copy this down. How many of you did try
the tablet last night?
Ss: Yeah, I did. (2x)
S1: Too bad.
T: Too bad? All of you didn't try it? That's what
you were supposed to have done last night.
All were supposed to have tried it.
S2: I don't know.
T: Alright, xxx, would you fill the first one in,
please? And who tried the kit last night?
Ss: Me(::) (2x)
T: Alright, you can fill in this.
xxx, you didn't finish?
S: No, I did that one.
T: What happened? You used this kit? What happened
in your mouth? What did you notice? What did you
want to see? What did you notice when you looked
in the mirror at all your teeth?
S: That was uh(:) like uh(:)
T: Did you see lots of little spots if you think
there were still some food left?
S: No(::) There was uh(:) all pink(.)-the
T: What about up here in the gums? Was it red?
S: Yeah.
T: Did you find any red spots in between your teeth?
S: No(:)
T: No? Alright, so what does that mean for you?
S: The(:) teeth/
T: /Did you brush your teeth well?/
S: Uh huh.
T: Alright, who spelled CAVITY up there?
S: Me.

T: How do we spell CAVITY?
S: Oh, um
T: Look it up.
S: Oh, that's CAVITY.
T: I didn't ask you about many things. What did you
learn, xxx? (.) What did you learn? What-what did
you learn? Why don't you write down all you
remember.
S: I learn(:)ed.

Tape #6, Feb. 10. 1983.

T: You said not properly without that one.
S: I want/ /I would like something to(:)
T: /I would like/
Give me a drink or a glass of water.
So what word would go in there now?
There's a little clue for you(.) You don't
even have to look at your puzzle, xxx.
The sentence helps you. xxx, listen.
I would like something to(::)-give me a glass
of water. You want to eat or you want to drink?
S: Drink.
T: Alright, xxx.
S: ??
T: Get your word first.
S: Is there/ /
T: /Get your word first./
You can put it into your sentence.
S: Is there something to ea(:)t-is there(:)?
T: Is that what you had in your puzzle?
S: No. I don't understand.
T: Pardon?
S: No, I don't understanding.
T: I don't have this one.
S: I don't have this one.
T: Alright, xxx?
Make this sentence, please.
S: Is there anything-anything to eat?
T: Alright, is there anything to eat? (2x)
Alright, xxx.
S: How many fish(.) can(.) how many fish(.)
T: Read with your eyes, please.
S: How many fish(.) can(.) you(.) see(::)
T: How many fish can you see?
S: Three.
T: I see(:)
S: I see three fish.
T: That's the answer, then.
xxx, then.
S: If you-if you xx
T: All I wish is always get your word first, xxx.
You can put it into your sentence, alright?
Know what your word is first. xxx, twelve.

S: Can(.) can you
T: Number twelve, xxx.
S: ??
T: Yes. Number twelve, xxx, alright?
What are those? (2x)
S: ??
T: Alright, xxx?
S: Can you draw a picture of a boat?
T: How do you spell "PICTURE", xxx?
S: PICTURE
T: Alright, xxx?
S: My brother drives very fast. I wish he would
drive more slowly.
T: Alright(.) xxx?
S: Did you(.) something
T: xxx? What did I say? Get the word first that you
need and then you'll put it into your sentence(.)
Try nineteen down.
S: ??
T: Alright, xxx?
S: Do you ever go to swim?
T: Did you ever go(::) swimming? (2x) And xxx?
S: The mon-the month betwee April and June,
that's May?
T: Alright, xxx?
S: Give me a pen.
T: How do you spell "pen"?
S: PEN
T: Alright, I have placed four words on the blackboard.
They all start the sa(:)me/ and they / all
Ss: /and end the same/
T: end the same, but I have changed the vowel of
of each one. Alright, xxx, I want you to sound
this for me.
S: pan, pin, pen, pon.
Ss: pun (laughing)
T: Alright, remember "u" is like /a/ in a "up."
Alright, this is going to be "pun."
Alright, xxx?
S: pan, pen?
T: pan
S: pan, pin, pen, pun.
T: Alright, xxx?
S: pan, pin, pen, um pen.
T: See, I had you thinking there because I mixed
them up. Alright, xxx?
S: pan, pin, pen, pu-pun.
T: With vowels you really have to think of how
you are going to make this sound. And now I
am going to say it(.) first, and then all of
you are going to say the words. I really want
to be able to (stopped by the anouncement)
Al(:)right, I'll say them first and you will
listen, pan, pin, pen, pun.

Ss: pan, pin, pen, pun.
T: What did you notice happening in our mouth?
S1: All the same.
T: Oh, not the same. xxx?
S: Like, it's like you are using tongue.
T: You are really using your(.) / tongue./
Ss: /tongue /
T: Alright(.) I want all of you to find a little spot on the blackboard. But no fighting, please. Find a little place at the blackboard where you write. You're all going to write a word on the blackboard today.
S1: What are we gonna do?
S2: I do not have any chalk.
S3: What are we gonna write, Miss xxx?
T: Erase the blackboard. You can't write on the blackboard. That's filled with words. Alright?(.) Are you going to listen? please.
S1: Listen.
T: You people who are taller can write up higher. No names on the blackboard(.) xxx, you must learn to listen, please. I said, do not put your name on the blackboard. You people who are taller will write up high. Those who are shorter will write down below. xxx, go over there besides xxx.
S: Okay.
T: Are you going to give me a chance to let me know what you have to write? Al(:)right, we are going to start working on some names that have to do with families, like mother, father, son, daughter(.) Now, I want you to put as many words as you can think of at the blackboard that are names of people in your family, mother, father, son, daughter, alright?
Ss: (writing down)
T: Alright, think first.
S1: Can I sit down, Miss xxx?
T: You think of some other ones. Don't pick the ones I gave you. Think of some more(.)
S2: I forgot.
T: What is your mother's sister called? What is your father's brother called?(.) What do you call your mother's mother? What do you call your father's father? Think of all these words.
S3: Miss xxx, how do I spell?=
T: Don't worry about spelling. We'll worry about that after.
S4: Miss xxx, how to spell it?
S5: How about that?
T: Try it.
What do you call your uncle's children?
S: Uhh!
S6: Uncle, I know.
S7: Is that right, Miss xxx?

T: Yes, I guess.
S8: Can I look at my dictionary?
T: No, you may not look at your dictionary.
Ss: (laughing)
T: We want the language to come from you not your
dictionary.
Alright, I think you made a very good one, xxx.
You are the best one. Can you think of some more?
S: No more, Miss xxx.
T: I'll give you one more minute. Then we sit down(.)
Alright, you all sit down. We have quite a few words
there. Let's have a look at them now(.) Alright,
would everybody sit down, please?
S9: They copy, ooh!
T: Don't start over there. Let me start over here.
Ss: Ooh, oh!
S8: That's all wrong.
S1: Yeah. (laughing)
T: Alright, sister here is spelled correctly, and
that is a member of the family or one of the
family(.) And there is another. When you're
doing this you should have said to yourself,
sister, brother, uncle, aunt, and then you'll
get other words this way, right? So uncle, aunt,
sister, brother, and these are spelled correctly.
Now, gra(::)ndfather and grandmother.
S: Right, I got it.
T: Now(.) so we are ready. We don't have son here.
Correct. Brother, we already have, father, mother.
Next, son, mother, father, we have aunt and uncle.
So this sort tells us that we know about the
same kind of words, mother, father, aunt,
grandfather, grandmother, son, sister.
Alright, xxx?
S: Granny.
T: Alright, now granny is another word for(:)
[grandmother.]
Ss: [grandmother.]
T: So we'll put it over here.
Alright, here's a new one, grand-, great-grand
father, great-grandmother. We'll take all these.
S: How about cousin?
T: And now we have cousin, and it's spelled like this.
Ss: Ooh!
T: Okay, this is sounded "nephew."
S: What nephew?
T: My sister's boy or my brother's boy would be
My(:)/
Ss: /nephew./
T: I want to give you this.
Ss: Ooh, no.
T: Now I want you to do it under here. These are the
member of one family.=
S1: I don't get.

T: And(.) above each person's head I want you to put
down what they are in the family.
Alright, what will you do, xxx? You will start at
the very top and you work down. So what will you
write down about this lady's name, xxx?
S: Gra(:)nd
T: Grandmother, alright, you got first.
Start with the grandparents first. Remember
we're working from the top. These are the
gra(:)nd parents and now we have brother, daughter,
mother, father, and these are going to be(:)/
Ss: /daughter/
T: We want to know how they are related to the person
above. Please, watch your spelling.
S1: That's easy.
S1: What's niece?
T: You don't have to worry about that on here.
Would those two people be a sister and brother?
S: No(::)=
T: No, because?
S: ??
T: This man is the son of these two people.
That would probably be his wife, right?
S: Yeah, I know.
T: They wouldn't be brother and sister. Brother
and sister don't get married, do they?
S: I know.
T: Look at this now. These lines mean this is the son
of these people. This is the daughter of these
people. Okay, these people would be aunt and uncle
to these two, but we don't have any line there.
We just worry about how these people are(.)-are
related to these people. Who are they?
How is this lady related to these people?
S: ??
T: She is the daughter of grandfather and grandmother.
S: Miss xxx, is this his daughter?
T: This is the word "daughter, like you're your
mother's daughter.
Alright, let's look at all these pictures together
a(:)nd alright, then the lady with the little
hairdo?
Ss: Grandmother.
T: And xxx, who will this be?
S: Grandfather.
T: Right here. Don't care.
S1: He is bold.
S2: Yeah, he has no hair.
T: Alright, now what I want to do(.) I want you
to draw a line like this. We have a name for
both of these people. Anybody tell me what
it is?
S1: Family?
T: They are part of the family.

S2: Father?
S3: Are they um grandparents?
T: Right, if I have a grandmother and grandfather,
that means, I would have gra(:)nd/ / parents.
Ss: /parents/
T: Let's put that in here next.
S1: What?
S2: Grandparents (2x)
T: Watch your spelling. We want to get some correct
spelling of these words.
Alright, now(.) this line points to this man
over here, does it not?
S1: Uh uhm
S2: Wrong lady.
T: Look at this lady with the hairdo.
Ss: (laughter)
T: You give wrong pair. Alright? What does this tell
you when the line is between these two people, xxx?
S: Son?
T: This is their(:)/ son,/ alright?
Ss: /son /
T: So if you put a son, that would have been quite
all right, too. But is a son also a father?
Ss: It is.
Yeah.
T: Alright, I could have had a father. Well, xxx, how
do I know that this man is a father?
S: Because he has children, son?
T: Because he has a(:) [daughter] and a(:) [son.]
Ss: [daughter] [son]
T: Alright, we know that he is the father of these
two children. So some of you had son here.
That's quite all right. Now(.) here is something
else you can think about. What is he to this
funny looking lady, xxx?
S: Husband.
T: He is he(:)r/ /
Ss: /husband. /
T: You can fill in a few more things for this Monday?
Ss: Yes/no.
T: Well, what would she be?
S: A wife.
T: Well, do all of you have a wife?
S1: No, I don't.
S2: Married?
Ss: (laughter)
T: Well, we are hoping that they are married.
They have two children, alright?
S1: I don't know these two.
T: Well, that's his daughter and that is her
husband, right?
Ss: Yeah.

Tape #9, Feb. 23. 1983.

T: Alright, pass your work.
S1: You can't change it.
S2: Okay.
T: Alright, xxx. Bring your paper to xxx, please.
You have to pass yours to xxx behind you.
xxx, bring your paper up here.
Alright, xxx, Pilgrim.
S: PILGRIM
T: Now, capital P, because this is the name of a
group of people, alright? who came from England
to the new land. What did I tell you before,
alright?
S1: Oh, I forgot to put "I" in there, ooh.
T: xxx, Thank.
S: THANK
S2: First capital?
T: Alright, now this time, you people-you don't have
to have any capital letter unless/
S2: /Uhh/
T: it's the name of something special.
S2: Uhh.
T: Next time you only capitalize these words that
have to be capitalized.
T: xxx, what will you do? Do you know what we'll do next?
S: Yeah, I do.
T: You'll do this morning?
S: No, I'll do this afternoon.
S1: Somebody didn't.
T: xxx, lay it on the top of the desk here.
Put it here so it will dry. Then you can
clean everything up.
S2: How about me?
T: Don't worry about the paint from back there
and I'll cover them after.
xxx, would you like to help with that?
Put pictures up? Would you like to, okay?
S1: Uh may I? Uh I-I don't want to.
S2: Miss xxx (2x).
T: xxx.
S: Can I ask you something?
T: Yes, you may.
S: Uh uh can I'll be the open house, right?
T: On the seventh.
S: Uh everybody go-uh somebody didn't come to
going to school?
T: Other visitors?(.) Yes, other visitors are coming.
S: Thank you.
T: All right.
S: Oh, they're talking Chinese again.
S1: So what? We're drawing.
S: Drawing what?
S2: Talk Korean.

S: Okay, shut-up. Okay, I never talking again.
T: xxx, remember that word that you just used.
It's not to be used in a room.
S: I-I know. But I never-I know not to say that,
but /
T: /We have a rule in here. /
We don't say that word.
S: I don't want to say that, but my mouth say that.
Ss: (laughter)
T: Make sure your mouth doesn't say that.
S: Miss xxx, can you come over?
T: Yes.
S: I need help.
T: You need help? O(:)kay.
S: That's the color. That's the same color.
T: I just put paper in there.
S: I want to color. No, I put the paper.
I want to take that out.
T: You have to put the pieces together.
S: (laughter)
T: I might have a big sheet of orange. You can put
right over it if you cut the shapes.
S: Can we have a sticker to the uh my story-book?
S1: Nobody have stickers.
T: Do you need stickers? You keep your story so good?
S: I meant to get sticker. Oh, that's too bad.

B. AGE-PEER TALK

Tape #3, Feb. 3. 1983.

NS1: Mr. Kim (reseacher), he's so modest. He's so
like-so modest. He writes a story. There's
this one kid. He's a boy named xxx. He's
so strong and handsome.
All: (laughter)
NS2: He calls-he calls hemself a handsome boy.
NNS1: Yeah. Handsome Korean. (2x)
NS1: He's just like-he's just like my little cousin, xxx.
My cousin xxx's only six years old. He talks
exactly like him.
NNS2: He's here. (2x)
R: Steve is here for about two years?
NNS1: No(:) one year and a /
NS1: /one year and a half? /
NNS1: No(:) one year and a-one year and /
NS1: / two months? /
NNS1: A month.
NNS2: That's good.
NNS1: See. I'm smart.
NS1: You're not smart.
NNS1: You guys don't have brains like me.

NS1: I came here when I was two and a half or three. That's uhm(.) nine years (laughter) ago. I have no more accent.

R: You were born in Canada, xxx. Can you speak Korean?

NS2: Yeah, a little bit.

NS1: You go to the language school?

NS1: I went to the Korean Language School last year.

NNS2: Bonnie Doon.

R: Do you speak in Korean with your parents?

NS2: Well I mix it up together. (laughter)

NS1: Like sometimes I talk in English, the words-the words I can't say in Korean.
You know, uh in the magazine and T.V. like the commercial, I used to see all the commercials, right? And I like uh when-whenever my parents talk, I listen to everything that they talk, I-I understand everything they say when I was little, but I can't-I can't say it.

NS2: You could think it in your mind, but it doesn't come out in your mouth.

NS1: It doesn't come out, right? But you can think of it in your mind. You go, okay, I'm going to say it, but when you say, you don't say it.

NNS2: No(:) (be)cause your tongue is curved. That's why you don't say it.

NS1: In Korea, there's no "R," right?

NNS2: Well I don't think so.

NNS1: There's no "F," no "L."

NS1: That's why my grandmother, when you-when my grandpa says, uhm "fish," he goes just like this (motion of two lips), he goes, "pish." (laughter)

R: Okay, xxx, how long have you been here?

NNS5: About two years, I think.

NNS2: It's about three years, though.

NNS1: About two years?

NNS2: No(:) I came here and you were in this school.=

NNS5: But it can't be. I came here and you were here too.

NS2: You were here when I was grade four or something.

NS1: Yeah, the same as me.=

NNS1: Grade four?

NNS2: But I came here when they're grade five.

NS2: They go into grade four.

NNS1: I came here 1981, December.

NS2: I'm gonna go to the university in Korea.
My father wants me to go to Korea.

NS1: I'm going to U of A. I'm not going to college.

NNS1: I would go. Okay, we have to pay about three and four hundred dollars for going uhm /

NS1: /college /

NNS1: No. University in Korea.

NS1: No

All: Yes.
NNS2: Maybe more than (2x).
NNS1: I would go to that college, because they have
a lot of down-pay/
NS2: /That MacEwan college?/
NNS2: Okay, wait, you pay, if you, okay, you pay in
elementary. You pay in Junior High. You pay
in High. Korea is so
R: In the university you should pay more.
NNS2: Yeah.
NS2: Why?
NS1: Because it teaches you more.
NNS1: I'm gonna be engineer. So I'm gonna make "Knight
Rider" car.
NNS2: Oh, he's so handsome.
NS1: "Knight Rider," he's sort of (2x)-I love the car.
NNS1: I love the car.
NS1: It's like "Corvet," and trans-am mixed together.
The car can speed. The car can drive by itself.
NNS2: It has the computer.
NS1: Yeah, you can drive.
NNS1: You can press to order.
NS1: And then it has a Turbo Boost. It has /
NNS2: / Oh, yeah. /
NS1: You can-it can go two hundred miles.
R: Do you remember the spring in Korea?
NS1: Of course, I'm a Korean. I shouldn't forget that.
Okay (2x), spring is really really beautiful(.)
NNS2: Okay, it's really warm, like in spring, it's
warm like uhm really warm like uh um um summer
in Canada, right? A(:)nd uhm you could wear shorts
in spring instead of wearing this-this horrible
jean.
NS2: Is this horrible? I love this jean.
NNS1: Yeah, I love jeans, but my/
NS1: /Use your shorts/(laughter)
NNS1: No(::) My jeans-my jean's so tight. So I have to
change.
NS1: But like uhm I only remember summer time, and when
it starts to rain, my grandma tells, it rains five
minutes and stops. (laughter) But here it rains and
rains and rains.
NNS1: Okay, last summer-no-two years ago, okay, two-two
years ago/
NS1: /Was it in Alberta?/
NNS1: No, uhm in the summer (laughter) like(.) that begins
uhm/
NNS2: /Yes. /
NNS1: There was(.)/
NS1: /We're waiting/
NNS1: Okay, we had storm a(:)nd uhm /
NS2: / rain/
NNS1: Yeah, rain, okay?
NS1: Of course.

NNS1: And thunder?
NS2: Lightening?
NNS1: Thunder and lightening, a(:)nd(.)
NS2: (laughter, imitating "a(:)nd")
NNS1: And uh raining and uhm I was(.) home by all-all
by myself. So I was so scarry.
NS1: How old-how old were you?
NNS1: Uh eleven
NNS2: You were scarry?
NS1: How old are you now?
NNS1: Twelve.
NS1: Oh, my god. When is your birthday?
NNS1: Uh(:)/
NNS2: /You are older than me./
NNS1: Uhm my birthday is uhm/
NNS2: /June, July, August, September?/
NNS1: July-July um
NNS2: You don't even know your birthday? (laughter)
NNS5: July hundredth (2x).
NNS1: July sixteenth. That's my "Eumyeok," (a Korean word
for the lunar calendar) okay? This is my "Eumyeok."
NS1: Uhm Mr. Kim (researcher), in Korea, is every religion
mostly christian-christianized?
R: Oh; no. Most Koreans still believe in Buddism.
NNS2: Buddism is so stupid.
NS1: Korean custom's really unusual.
NNS2: Okay (2x), I have a little cousin. He was only four.
And my grandmother was Buddi-my grandmother was
Buddist, okay? And my-and my little aunt was really
really Buddist, like/
NS1: /Like my little brothers?/
NNS2: No (3x). She was really cu(:)te, and really nice,
but she doesn't like boys. And he go, (speaking in
Korean, meaning that grandma, why do you believe in
Budda?)
NNS1: You know, in xxx Churches, they always fight like uhm
they-they always fight.
NS1: No one's perfect
NNS1: But not Catholic. I'm going Catholic church, but they
never had fight, and they never argue something like
that.
NNS2: Okay (2x), my-my grandmother was really sick, right?
And she went to Kang-Won-Do (a province in Korea)
and she went to that uh Buddist thing, and suddenly
the-one "Jung" (a Korean word for the Buddist monk),
you know, "Jung"?
R: Yes, a Buddist monk.
NNS2: Yeah, she was going like this, right? And he rise
like awful.
NNS1: Oh, really?
NNS2: He was.
NS2: Who?
NNS2: That-that uh the-the / / the monk.
NS1: /that guy?/

NNS2: And-and my-my grandmother was dreaming, right?
And uh suddenly my-my grandmother, she's been
dead. She was shocked with him, right? And she
went home, and she wokes up, but she was really
scared, because we-we want to call the um church
minister. But she was not in Korea.
And-and my-my grandmother was dead. I don't really
believe in Buddism, because she's dead. I hate
Buddist.
NS2: Do you believe in then Jesus?
NNS2: Oh, yeah.
NS1: Okay, let's see, when I was in Korea, like um we
went to go visit my grandparents-parents, and like
they-they buy wine, and they sort of place it
beside it, and they believe that they-the dead could
drink it, and they place by it.=
NNS2: Oh, yeah.
NS1: That's-that's what we all have to to, but here all
you do/
NNS1: /Drink what?/
NS1: All you do is give flowers and pray for them.
NNS1: For what?
NS1: In here-in Canada. But when I was in Korea, it was
totally different.

Tape #4, Feb. 3. 1983.

NNS1: Who's the funniest guy in your classroom?
NS1: xxx (2x).
NNS2: Oh, xxx.
NS1: xxx and-xxx and xxx.
NNS1: xxx and xxx.
NS1: You know, xxx, he goes like this. Mrs. xxx laughs.
NNS1: If xxx wants to get,
All: (clapping and laughter)
NNS1: If xxx wants to buy new xx teacher for the method of
money, that's what xx
All: (yelling and clapping)
NNS1: He goes, buy new xx teacher, and everyone goes
(yeah and clapping)
NNS2: We want the teacher. She is good.
NNS1: She is nice, but=
NS2: She is nice to me.
NS1: Yeah, but she asks us to play the piano. She comes
NS2: She comes up to me, xxx, will you do me a favor?
Can you do a Korean dance for the Talent Show?
NS1: She comes right up to me. She goes-she goes,
um she goes, xxx, um for the Talent Show, it
would be nice if you and xxx could do a dance,
and I would go/
NS2: /Yeah, exactly/
NS1: I go, me? (2x), well, and I go, well I don't know.
And then she goes, well could you ask xxx?
I go, no, I'm no going to ask xxx, you can ask

xxx, and if she-and-and if she doesn't do it
then I don't do it, or if /
NS2: / She doesn't. /
That's what she said to me. She goes, and xxx said
if you don't want, she-and she goes, well if-as
xxx wants me to ask you to dance, and she started
to say all these things, it would be very nice, xxx.
NS1: I know.
NS1: xxx, you don't do that, okay?
NNS2: No. You go.
NS1: No. (3x) Do this. Do this like this, okay?
NNS2: No.
NS1: Do it inside your mouth. Yo go.
NNS2: No. You don't do it like that.
NS1: My mom always does to me.
NS2: You are kidding?
NS1: Whenever my mom comes to me, she goes like this.
NNS2: I know.
NS1: My piano teacher, I never cut my pinkies-my nails.
I let them grow long. And if I play piano, I-you
can always hear-it goes lik this.
NS2: (clicking sound) Right?
NS1: Yeah, exactly. But I don't like my piano teacher.
She-she always /
NNS2: /How come you always pays to her? /
Is she Canadian?
NS1: No. She's-well she's-she's /
NNS1: /Korean? /
NS1: No, she is not a Canadian. She's black. And like
she always-she always wants to put everything down.
She never tells how good they play or she never
um she always has to compare people. So I don't
like her.
R: What do you usually talk about?
NS1: Boys (laughter)
NS2: Yeah, we-we usually talk about guys like Scott Baio.
Oh, you think Scott Baio's cute?
NNS2: Just like xxx?
NS1: No, we don't talk about xxx. We talk about those
actors like-like Rick Springfield, like-like okay,
in case like you like my-my-uh-my grandfather.
They talk about Elizabeth Taylor, right?
NNS2: Yeah.
NS1: We talk about those actors and actress, like that
Rick Springfield, Scott Baio(.) a(:)nd
NNS1: Junior Rogers, Stevie Wonder (his nickname), yeah.
NNS2: Stevie Wonder (laughter)
NS1: No. We just talked about Rick Springfield a lot.
NNS2: Yeah.
NS1: He's going to be on "Solid Gold" next week. It's going
to be good. Rick Springfield did have something.
R: How about social studies?
All: Ooh!
NNS2: Social?

NS1: It's very tough, right? Science is really really good. I love science.
NNS1: Yeah. We learned it in Korea.
NNS2: I like art.
R: What did you study in the science class today?
NNS2: We uh-we stu-we studied about/
NS2: /electricity?/
NNS2: Yeah, electricity, like, okay, I should speak Korean or English?
R: Of course. In English.
NNS1: Ah, she can't speak English. (laughter)
NNS2: Yes, I could. Okay, there, you, okay, there's one battery, right? And-and you have this wire-this wire, and you-you put it in the other side and this um you have this nail-really big nail and it's just big this like(.) You put paper clips in here, and it um see how it works, and all these clips stick on-sticks into the nail.
NNS1: I-I-I had to study social and science.
NS1: I got such a bad point.
NNS1: So did I. I failed.
NS1: Science, I got forty-six percent.
NNS1: Oh, I did better than you,[ha ha.]
NS1: [In social,] social, I got forty-I got fifty-three.
NNS1: Oh, you did better.
NS1: I can't believe it. That's the lowest mark I ever had in my life. Last my first report card, I got straight A's, well not straight A's, but I got A's in social and math. I made it.
NS1: I think the boys in this-the boy- the Korean boy in this school are more shy than the girls.
NNS5: No.
NS1: Uh uh.
NNS5: Opposite (2x).
NS1: No way, I think.=
NNS1: I know, like Canadian boys are-are not shy, like my friends, xxx, she (he) has about ten or fifteen girl-friends. She (he) goes to the sportsworld, every sites with these girl-friends.
NNS2: But how about you? Do you have a girl-friend?
NNS1: No, I don't.
NS1: One, you have one.
NNS1: Who told you?
NS1: You told me.
NNS1: Yeah, I do.
NS1: Who is she? A Canadian or Korean?
NNS1: Yeah, Canadian.
NS1: She is pretty?
NNS1: I don't know, but=
NS1: Tall? Both ways?
NNS1: She's just about this size.
NS1: Oh, just the size. (laughter)
All: (laughter)

NS1: Don't make fun of him. xxx has another boy friend.
NNS2: Oh.
NNS1: Yeah, Hung. You.
NNS5: Yeah, Hung, You said you-you love him.
NNS2: Not any more. Another boy friend.
NNS5: He told everybody.

Tape #7, Feb. 10. 1983.

NNS1: In Korea I did a lot of things, like uh I learned
speech and piano, a(:)nd um uh like drawing/
NS1: /art?/
NNS1: Then I learned a volley ball and basketball and
soccer.
NS1: Is there no hockey in Korea?
NNS5: No hockey in Korea.
NS1: Oh, I wouldn't wanna live there then.
NNS2: Hockey, you know what?
NNS1: Hockey's my second favorite sport.
NS1: Hockey is my first. What is your first?
NNS1: Football.
NNS2: So do I. Oh, I love football.
NNS1: You're not good at football.
NNS2: No way. I gonna play football.
NNS4: Baseball, excel(:)lent!
NNS1: I love baseball. I have good um baseball glove.
NS1: Baseball glove? I don't want.
NNS1: Of course, you don't.
NS1: It doesn't matter.
NNS1: It does matter.
NS1: No, not really. When we play for gym we don't use
anything except bat and ball.
NNS2: I wanna try out volleyball when I get to high school.
NNS1: I'm-I'm good at volleyball-not bad.
NNS2: I can never play volleyball (be)cause my mom doesn't
want to.
NNS4: Playing hockey is um/
NS1: /I like watching it./
You should have seen all star game/ /Excellent.
NNS4: /Yeah./
NS3: I hate hockey, but I like baseball. And-but you
know what? My dad likes wrestling, particularly.
NNS1: Well, wrestling is so cruel. My father like boxing,
But he doesn't know that much agout boxing.
He doesn't know.
NNS2: My dad doesn't like boxing.
NNS4: My dad like Edmonton Trappers.
NS1: The best-worst team of Edmonton is Trappers.
Edmonton Trappers, they're terrible.
NNS1: Uhm Drillers sold(.)
NS1: What?
NNS1: Drillers sold.
NS1: What is it?
NNS1: I don't know. They did not say anything,

NS1: a(:)nd / what? / there's not any more.
But everything about Edmonton is really true.
Edmonton Oilers have oil. Drillers, we drill at
the oil. Trappers, we trap on the tree. And
Edmonton Eskimos, I don't know.
R: Actually Edmonton is famous for oil.
NNS2: No way. Edmonton Eskimos's not famous.
They're really pussy.
NS3: No, he's talking about oil, not Oilers.
NNS2: I was talking about xx.
NNS1: When I was taking volleyball lesson, my hands
were-and my-when I taking volleyball(.)
NNS4: My(:) ha(:)nd
All: (laughter)
NS1: Look at him. My grandpa knows a little about sports,
and we went to uh the Canadian Women's Cup for
volleyball against v.s.-the United States, and they
have two figures tied up together like that,
and I think it would be really uncomfortable, and
my grandpa knows a lot, like uhm first time I asked
him what this meant, and if you do that-if he goes
like that, that person hits and bounces, the other
person goes there.
NNS1: When I was playing volleyball in Korea, my fingers
were broken.
NNS2: Oh, no, my poor boy.
NS1: Okay (2x), let me say, okay (2x), just a minute.
Wayne Gretzky won another-another record, four
goals in one period, and last period he got a
real hat-for the hat trick. He scored uhm-he
scored two goals-two goals in the third period.
Dino Seccereli is in the other goal, and
Wayne Gretzky got the other two, and he won-he
won the thirteen-thousand-dollar car.
NNS1: No, eleven thousand. He likes to got Firebird car
better-more (than) Cameral.

Tape #8, Feb. 17. 1983.

NS2: I don't want to go "survival."
NS1: I'm going to "survival." You have to-they give a
life jacket. You jump in the deep end. You take
it off, and put it back on, and get up, or
NS2: Or else?
NS1: You have to bring old clothes. You have to swim in
it. That's why it's called "survival." Or else,
you wear your life jacket, jump in the deep water,
take it off, and swim to shore, swimming. I like
"survival." I don't like beginners.
NNS4: I'd rather go to beginners. Do you know what the
beginners do?
NNS2: Do you go to church every Sunday?
NS2: I have to. If I don't, I'd be in trouble.

NS1: Her uncle's a minister.
NS2: My uncle says I'm gonna go to heaven before you.
NS1: (laughter) How do you know that?
You know what, xxx? When we were young, I was
older than xxx. Andrew was around maybe five.
xxx said to me, you're gonna die before me,
you know. (laughter) And then I'd go, I know and
(be)cause like we both didn't know anything, and
then keeps going, you'll die before me, you know,
and I go,
NS1: I know.
NNS3: I going to the swimming, but I like skating.
NNS4: I hate skating now.
NNS3: I'm better than you.
NNS4: No way. You are not.
NNS3: Yes, I am.
NS1: You and your brother are totally different(.)
Piano playing is fun. Taking lesson is-I took
two years with the same lady.
NNS5: I want to take a piano lesson.
NNS4: Gross.
NS1: I won't play the piano. I wanna learn how
to play drums.
NNS4: Drums?
NS2: I-I like gymnastics.
NNS4: Uh uh I like guitar.
NS1: My uncle's got an electric guitar. He used to be
in a band. He's got an electric guitar, a normal
guitar, a set of drums, and you know those bargain
sail, right? And now he's got bored.
NNS4: Get out of here. Wanna die?
NNS3: Oh, come here. Kick me, kick, uh.
NNS4: He go, he go, Ahahaha.
NNS3: Shut up, okay?
NS1: See. They act so tough. Especially, xxx.
NNS3: Who is it?
NS1: Yeah, xxx. You just shut up, and he goes, no one
says shut-up to me.
NS2: God! I got so sick of it.
NS1: Which one do you like best about the talk-show?
NNS4: That song(.)that girl sang.
NS1: xxx?
NNS4: Yeah.
NS2: (sounds like singing) Let me show (2x). xxx makes
me happy.
NS1: Yeah, she's good.
NNS4: She's excellent.
NNS3: Excellent, yeah.
NS1: xxx, you know what you look like?
NNS4: What?
NS1: You are nine?
NNS4: I'm ten.
NS1: Oh, ten. Can you read this?
NNS4: I'm not dumb. And read it. (2x)

NNS5: Oh, yeah.
All: (laughter)
NNS4: Some Canadian is dumb. xxx is dumb.
NNS3: xxx, what's your favorite sports? Hockey?
NS3: No, I don't like hockey because I can never hit the puck.=
NNS4: Jumping rope?
NNS3: What's your favorite?
NS3: I like football.
NNS1: Football? American football?
NS3: No, not that one.
R: You mean soccer?
NS3: I like/
NNS3: /Softball, she mean softball./
NS3: You know softball? I know what I'm talking about.
NNS3: You said, softball.
NNS4: Dummy. (2x)(laughter)
R: How about baseball?
NS3: I never hit the ball.
NNS3: Yeah. He (she) can never. (laughter)
NS3: You've never seen me hit. How do you know?
NNS4: Oh, I can see it.

Tape #11, March. 10. 1983.

NNS1: You've got boy's shoes.
NS3: Uh gross.
NS1: So what?
NNS1: You have boy's shoes.
NS1: So what? Boys. Boy's shoes are better than girl's
NNS1: Yes, they are.
NS2: No, they aren't.
NNS3: I like holiday. I like tomorrow.
R: Tomorrow?
NNS3: Yeah.
NS3: Because you don't have to work in school.
NNS3: No, I like school.
NS3: I have to come to school anyway.
NNS1: I don't have to come to school, (be)cause they have race.
NNS3: You have to race?
NNS1: Yeah.=
NNS4: Track?
NNS3: Running, right?
NNS4: Track.
NNS3: Uh you are going with our school?-with uh our school team.
NNS4: Hey, what's your name? I don't know. I forgot. Come here. (laughter)
NS3: xxx. (xxx's sister)
NNS4: Yeah, Linda, that's right. I won't give you cookies any more. (laughter)
NS1: Briber (2x).
R: Are you in the Kindergarden?

NS1: Grade one.
NNS4: Linda (2x). Come here. Linda, come here. You dummy.
NS1: What are you saying?
NNS4: Dummy.
NS2: She's just like you.
NS3: Whenever I play with my brother, I always beat my little brother up.
NS1: I'm oldest of all my cousins, and I had to baby-sit five babies at a time. That's so hard.
NNS1: Yeah, you can baby-sit.
NS1: Yeah, one baby starts crying, and they all start-start crying. You try to boil some water. The thing runs over. The phone rings.
NNS4: Good.
NS1: It's just so mean. Peter, Peter, he's so cute. He, he goes, Peter goes to Jessie, I remember you, you came to my house once.
NNS3: Who come?
NS1: My cousin.
NS3: I remember. There was this little girl about that size. That I know at the park. She goes up to her, and she goes, I'm a little kid, you know. I hadn't even noticed. Ahe goes, and you should let me go out for supper.
NNS4: (laughter) Yeah (2x).
NS1: I hate the way he laughs. (laughter)
NS3: Sounds like a witch.
NNS4: How about you? You go, huh huh.

Tape #13, April. 7. 1983.

R: In Canada you can play hockey with girls. But in Korea you can't have a game with them when you become grade seven or eight.
NS3: I would. (2x)
NNS1: No. Because in Korea like um there's boys' Junior High school and a girls' Junior High school. Most of-most of it. Uhm by house and there was um boys and um boys and girls Junior High. But in Canada they don't. They're not so immature.
R: When you become a student at Junior High, you have no chance to meet a girl student in a boys' school.
NNS1: In Korea it does, (2x) but not in Canada.
NS3: There're some schools that just have boys.
NNS1: Yeah, like private schools. That's where my uh friends go.
NS3: xxx, do you-were you here when Miss xxx had a miscarriage?
NNS1: Pardon?
NS3: Teaching physical dance.
NNS1: No. Why?
NS3: She was a dance teacher, right? You know, she was up there, and she was going over there. She was really doing things like xx . (laughter) She was

a um student teacher, right? And she was also a
dance teacher. So every phys-ed time we had to do
all these weird things, and going do-do-do-zoom
and like dragging your leg.

NNS1: I only been here(.) one year(.) in this school.

NS3: Were you here last year?

NNS1: Yeah, last year uhm February.

NS3: Last year?

NNS1: Yeah, last year when school just started and um
I've been here only uh one year(.) one year and
about three-three weeks.

R: You didn't notice that he came here last year?

NS3: Oh, who knows? He came to our church and you know,
he was in Junior High, and I didn't pay any
attention.

NNS1: Yeah, I was playing with that guy called xxx,
I think. He still go to your church, xxx.

NS3: Do you know xxx, xxx, and

NNS1: Yeah, xxx.

NS3: How long have you lived there?

NNS1: Hyung? Since um I came here, ... I didn't lived
in apartment or something like that. ..... We used
to live in there about um about a month.

NS3: Have you ever gone to the States?

NNS1: No. I been L.A., though.

NS3: Oh, I have never gone much into the United States.
I have an uncle and aunt there and two cousins.

NNS1: Oh.

NS3: Um I have cousins in the United States and here and
in North Western Ontario, and my dad had some in
Japan.

NNS1: I used to live in Japan for three years and then
I been in L.A. only one day, only one.

NS3: Oh, I think I stopped off there, too. I stopped
there. I've gone to Vancouver for summer vacation.

NNS1: Did you watch that hockey game last night?

R: No, I was so busy.

NNS1: It was against Jets. It was semi-final game.
It was for Stanley Cup like um/

NS3: /Play-offs? /

NNS1: No, not Play-offs. Um Calgary and Vancouver,
Calgary Frames and Vancouver Canucks had a game.

NS3: Where?

NNS1: I(:)n Calgary, and Oilers uh and Winnipeg Jets
had game in Edmonton. And I think for Calgary and
Canucks the score was three to two. And then
for Oil-Oilers it was um six to one, I think,
because,/

NS3: /Six to one? /

NNS1: Yeah, for Oilers, because um um yesterday Wayne
Gretzky had four break-aways like um looked like
he was at the center line, and then everybody even
Winnipeg Jets um defence were in the Oiler zone,
so uh and then um Wayne Gretzky got um those kine

of chances four times.
NS3: Four times?
NNS1: Yeah, and he never made any mistakes.
R: Gretzky is that good?
NS3: Yeah, Gretzky is great. That's why his name is almost
great.
R: Great, yeah. Gretzky sounds like great.
NNS1: His last name is. (2x)
My dad said he's um he's um um from Russia, because
like um he
R: He is an immigrant?
NNS1: No. He has been here, but like um his um great great
um um um grandfather or /
NS3: /You know, /his descendants
(ancestors) came from Russia.
NNS1: Yeah, because his last name, most um um Gretzky,
S, K, Y, I think, most Russians ends with SKY.
And if you see the all star Russian team, most
um uh last names were ending with SKY.
Oilers gonna have hockey game tonight, I think.
NS3: What channel is it?
NNS1: I don't know. And they're gonna have a game in um
Winnipeg twice again, because Oilers, so they, and
then uh uh the other team, Chicago and the other
teams gonna having semi-final games.
NS3: Do you think Oilers are gonna win the Stanley Cup?
NNS1: I don't think Oilers gonna win the Stanley Cup.
They only have, they have chance, though. But I
doubt they're gonna win because they're young.
...... Do you like hockey game?
NS3: I don't know. I just flip the channels. I've only
seen one hockey game, and I thought that was boring.

Tape #14, April. 7. 1983.

NS3: Do you guys bow to your teacher?
NNS1: Like um you don't have to bow to your or um
teacher in Canada, but in Korea you have to-not
you don't have to but that's how most Korean
usually thinks you have to do it. And um like um
today I trained in gym like um before the gym me
and xxx made all kind of noises. So uh we get to
stay-stay in classroom, the stage in the gym, and
then (2x) we're going to so, we don't have to
stretch, and do all those kinds of stu-stupid things,
and then suddenly Mr. xxx tells us to um um stretch
and do those stuffs like that, so I got mad, and
xxx and xxx got mad, and we went to the corner,
and then Mr. xxx tells me to the middle and xxx
has to go to the other corner, and I got so mad.
So um um I said um I said, I don't want-I-I don't
like to do that kind of stuff. And then Mr. xxx
got mad. He yelled at me(.) loud, and I went to
read a book-to read a book, and then uhm

NNS5: But in Korea we don't do that.
NNS1: We're gonna get trouble for it. Teachers like,
they're gonna punch us, hit us uh slap us.
NS3: So you say the teachers over here are pretty
easy-going?
NNS1: Yeah.
NS3: Well, I wouldn't say that the Canadian teachers
are easy-going.
Do you take piano lessons?
NNS1: I used to in Korea.
NS3: What grade are you in?
NNS1: I don't know.
NS3: Are you gonna take piano lessons?
NNS1: I don't know. Maybe.
NS3: Do you like piano?
NNS1: Sort of.
NNS5: You like to play guitar?
NNS1: I took classical guitar for one month and then
she said, I quit, because she said so. As far
as it was playing piano um in a coce(:)n
NS3: /in a concert?/
I know it's a competition.
NNS1: You are right?
NS3: Twice a year.
NNS5: When did you start piano?
NS3: Grade one. I've just had six test.
NNS1: How long do you practice a day?
NS3: Well, no more than two hours, I just go,
I've just finished. I don't-really tired,
and I go, mommy, I'm finished, and she goes,
do it more. I go, what else should I play?
She goes, play it over again, and I go, I've
already done it, and she goes, play it all the
ten times, and I go, I've finished that much.
That's all we do, you know.
NNS1: I don't like um our xx teacher, Miss xxx.
She's so mean.
NS3: I wouldn't say anythin against her. I think she's
pretty easy-going, compared to other teachers I had.
NNS1: She's a nice person, like um when person talks like
during the xx and then um they have to go to office.
..... She is stupid.
NS3: Well, she's sort of a person who would walk away
and cry instead of yelling.
NNS1: I know. Like um when xxx and xxx like um and they
have to go office, then um do something like they
have to read the book right there-by the door,....
...... Uhm he does-she doesn't yell at person
like Mr. xxx.
NS3: But Mr. xxx is a very nice teacher.
NNS1: Yeah, she-he only teach grade six. This is second
year(.) at the grade six.
NNS5: He's too old for grade six. (laughter)
NNS1: No, he isn't.

NS3: I think he's over eleven years old, right?
NNS1: Well.
NS3: I think he's at least-I think he's at least
over eleven years old.
NNS1: (laughing) I know. He's short, though.

Tape #16, April. 21. 1983.

NNS2: xxx speaks really hard, ooh.
NNS3: Who?
NNS2: Okay, there's this guy called xxx.
NS3: That's xxx's brother?
NNS2: Yeah, and (3x) xxx's brother/
NNS3: /How old is he?/
NS3: He's one year older than me.
NNS2: No(::) I'm-I'm not/
NS3: /He's grade seven./
NNS2: He just told xxx and-and uh xxx, and me, right,
okay, and-and like, okay, he says to himself,
he's thirteen. That's his real age-age.
But her-she say and he say he's over/ fourteen./
NNS1: /fourteen /
NNS4: He's fifteen.
NNS2: Yeah, and-and he didn't tell me exactly how old
he was. And-and he had a lot of muscles. Oh, you
should see him. But he was this short, right?
And his muscles pops out. Oh, god.
NNS3: What school is he going?
NS3: That's exactly what he is, you know.
NNS2: And-and he-okay, there is this soccer ball and
he kick it. It goes up-up to the sky, right?
And it never comes down.
NNS4: It's a lie. xxx's-xxx's always lying. (screaming)
NNS3: I know. (3x)
NS3: It's exaggerating.=
NNS4: It never come down.
NNS3: Shut up. (2x) Police come in. Don't worry. (laughter)
All: (laughter)
NNS3: Gentle, always, right?
NS3: He goes, (2x) it's first time he rides a bike.
He goes, I rode the bike, but it lasted for
two hours.
NNS4: (laughter)
NS3: I would say that it was about-maybe-he was on it
about three seconds.
NNS2: You know what? Okay, (3x) that was just expression.
How he was kicking the ball and everything, right?
It's just expression. How can the ball go up and
never come down?
NNS3: I know how. (2x) I know why.
NNS4: How do I know that expression, you dummy?
NNS3: I know how. (laughter) He big size-he big size.
Where-where he's going-going to the school?
NS3: Uh he goes to Dan Knott.

NNS3: Dan Knott? Oh, I can't see him.
NNS4: How long has he been here?
NNS3: Three hour? I-I mean three year?
NNS2: He was here for/   / three or four.
NNS4: /three hours/(laughter)
NNS3: Three minutes. How about?
NNS2: xxx used to be really popular.
NS3: Do you know xxx's brother, xxx?
NNS2: Yeah.
NS3: He's so little and skinny, right? I am almost as
tall as him. And he goes like this, and goes,
xxx's good. But he's really bad.
NNS1: I don't like him.
NNS2: I don't like no boys in this school except uh
well, I like those guys. I like [xxx.]
NNS3: [Who?]
NNS2: I like [xxx.]
NNS3: [Who?] Who is he?
NNS2: xxx and xxx.=
NNS1: xxx is weird.
NS3: I sit beside him in Social, right? And he stamps
all over my feet.
All: (laughter)
NNS2: He's nice.
R: Is he a Canadian?
NS3: Uh huh.
NNS2: And xxx is Canadian. And his brother, xxx.
NS3: xxx's a weakling, and went out too much.
When I pushed him /
NNS1: / He goes like this. /
NNS2: Don't push him. He's a little baby thing.

Tape #18, April. 28. 1983.

NS1: He's going to Junior High next year?
R: Yes.
NS1: What High-what Junior High do you wnat to go to?
NNS3: I don't know.
NNS4: Dan Knott.
NS1: Go to Dan Knott, okay?
NNS3: I'm not go.
NS1: It's better, but the registration forms are all gone.
NNS1: I can "zerox" one for him.
NS2: No. Go to Dan Knott. You have to take it in the
last day, Friday. It's the last day, Friday.
NNS3: I don't like to go.
NNS4: I don't like to go. (laughter)
NS2: You don't need an echo.
NNS1: He doesn't need an echo.
NS3: He's just like a baby. He has about as much barins
as a sheep.
NS1: He's got as much brain-he's got the I.Q. of a
baseball, I mean.
NNS4: You got an ice I.Q.

NS1: I got an I.Q. of 350.
NNS3: Ah, uh that's crazy.
NNS4: You're gonna die pretty soon. Don't touch my bag. You dummy, you like hockey?
NS1: Oh, sort of. You don't like hockey?
NNS4: Yeah, I like it.
NS2: Don't yell.
NNS3: Shout.
NS1: We heard you.
R: My son likes Wayne Gretzky very much.
NS1: So do I. I like Edmonton Oilers. They're the best team in the world.
NNS1: No way.
NS1: What-what is your favorite team, then?
NNS4: Bobby Orr was good, too, you know.
NS1: What?
NNS4: CCCP
NS1: Mississippi?
NNS4: CCCP
NS1: The Soviet Union?
NNS4: Yeah.
NS1: We beat them this year.
NNS4: So what? That's fluke.
NS1: In the Guiness book of world records, like Oilers, I will say, Canadians beat Russians forty-two to nothing one game.
NNS4: No way.
NS1: Yeah, look it up in the Guiness, Forty-two. Look it up in the Guiness, Book of world.
NNS3: Oh, my god.
NS1: Forty-two to nothing.
NNS3: Forty-two.
NS1: Right.
NNS4: You'd better change your glasses.
NS1: You'd better change your attitude.
NNS3: Forty-two to nothing?
NS1: Forty-two to nothing.
NNS3: There is a(:) best goalie.
NS1: Tretchak (2x).
NNS3: No, I mean, uh(:)
NS1: In NHL, in NHL?
NNS4: No way. They're not in NHL.
NNS1: Gerald Wheeler?
NNS3: xx is better.
NNS1: Who is? Who is better?
NNS3: Bill Smith.
NNS1: His name's Billy Smith.
NNS4: Uh uh. B-I-L-L/ /S-M /
NNS3: /Y / /Y-Y / B-I-L-L-Y.
NNS4: Uh uh. Just L-L.
NS1: B-I-L-L-Y.
NNS3: That's right, B-I-L-L-Y.
NNS4: B-I-L-L. You want a bet?
NS1: Yeah, sure. Well you can misspell him.

That's Billy Smith, right?
NNS1: New York Islander's goal-tender.
NNS4: Uh uh. Bill Smith.
NNS3: What are you talking about?
You are-what number is he? (3x)
NNS4: One, I think.
NNS3: Ah, get out of here. You don't know.
(Linda slaps xxx on the nose.)
NNS3: Ooh! Wow! Excellent! You are uh one of Tae-Kwon-Do.
NS3: You bet! No(::)
NNS3: She-she learn Tae-Kown-Do, I think. Uh I know.
She went any restaurant, (2x) and eat any food.
NS1: Don't touch her. You'll give her germs.
NNS4: Where is your cap, anyway?
NS3: I know where it is, because I took it.
NNS3: There, beside the washroom. Maybe inside.
NS3: I threw it down there.
NNS4: Come here, xxx. I'll kill you.
NS3: No (2x).
NNS3: xxx, what is it? (2x), xxx? huh?
NS3: I can do something better than that.
NNS3: Hey, this is Wonder, xxx!
NS3: My name's not xxx and I won't answer to that.
NNS4: Piggy. (laughter)
NNS3: Oh, no. (2x) My name is Thanksgiving Turkey.
Your name is Thanksgiving Piggy. (laughter)
NS3: If my name is Miss Piggy, your name is Repulsive.
NNS3: How-how old are you? She's maybe not older than eleven, right?
NS3: No. I'm thirty-two.
NNS3: Oh, wow.
NS3: No, actually, I'm-I'm two thousand sixty-seven years old.
NNS3: Oh, crazy. (2x)
NS3: I've been alive for six thousand years, and I've seen the May-Mayflower. I've seen George Washington.
NNS3: Oh, good. I think George Washington is your father.
NNS4: I'm George Washington grandfather.
NS3: (laughter) I'm George Washington's great (5x) grandfather.
NNS3: George Washington grandfather was my friend, you know?
NNS4: Really?
NS1: Andy Moog's a good goal tender.
NNS3: The best.
NNS4: Uh uh. Billy Smith is better, I guess.
NNS3: How spell, how spell Billy?
NNS4: Okay, Billy.
NS1: You know what? What's Andy Moog's name?=
NNS4: Andy Moog, right?
NS1: No. It's Andrew Moog.
NNS3: Randy Moog. (2x) Not Andy Moog. Randy Moog.
NNS4: Andy, Andy Moog.
NS1: I know nearly everything about Oilers.
NNS3: What's number sixteen?

NS1: Pat Hughes.
NNS3: What's twenty-nine?
NS1: What?
NNS3: Twenty-nine.
NS1: There's no number twenty-nine.
NNS4: How about [eleven?]
NNS3: [I know] (3x). Seventy-seven?
NS1: Gerry Younger.
NNS4: Thiry-one (2x)?
NS1: Grant Fuhr.
NNS4: No.
NNS3: Yes.
NS1: We're talking about Oilers.
NNS4: Yeah, I like him. He's best goalie.
NNS3: Okay, let's think. Who's number two?
NNS4: Number two, yeah.
NS1: Number two, Lee Fogelin.
NNS3: Number uh/
NNS4: /Yeah, twenty-one (3x), yeah, twenty-one./
NNS3: Which one do you want? Oh, there is twenty-one.
NS1: No.
NNS4: Yes. Randy Greig.
NS1: That's right. It's Randy Greig.
NNS3: How about number twenty-four?
NS1: Uh(:) Tom Roulston.
NNS4: What number is Ken Linsman?
NNS4: Yeah, thirteen.
NS1: Yeah. Lowe is four.
NNS3: How about Gretzky?
All: Ninety-nine (laughter)
NS1: Okay, how old is Wayne Gretzky?
NNS3: Wayne Gretzky/ twenty-two /
NNS4: /twenty-one, /twenty-two
Twenty-three
NNS3: Twenty-two.
NS1: Twenty-two. His birthday is in January 26, 1961.
He was born in Brantford, / / Ontario.
NNS3: /Right/
That's right. I know that, too.
NS1: Yeah (2x), how old is Andy Moog?
NNS3: Andy Moog? Twenty-two, too.
NS1: Right, twenty-two.
NNS4: Twenty-one, I think.
NS1: What's-what's uh Gretzky's middle name?
NNS3: Middle name? Wayne (.) Gretzky.
All: (laughter)
NS1: It's Douglas. What's Paul Coffey's middle name?
NNS4: Douglas.
NS1: Right.
NNS3: How about-how about Paul Coffey?
NS1: What?
NNS3: Paul Coffey.
NS1: Paul Coffey?
NNS3: Seven. How old is he?

NNS4: How about nine? What's nine?
NS1: Glen Anderson.
NS3: You guys don't yell. You're giving me a headache.
All you guys know is about hockey and sports.
NNS4: Yeah, so what's wrong with that?
NS1: Oh, who is number seventeen?
NNS3: Seventeen, Yuri Kuri.
NS1: Yari Kuri.
NNS4: Juri Kuri.
NS1: Yari Kuri.
NNS3: How spell?
NS1: He spells "J." So it's pronounced Yari Kuri.
NNS4: So what?
NS1: I know more about hockey than you guys.
You don't get it.
NNS3: Okay, then, how old uh number seven? How old?
NS1: I don't care how old he is. All I care about
is Gretzky. (laughter)
NNS4: So you don't know, you dummy.
NNS3: Twenty-two, [too.
NNS4: [Twenty-one.]
NNS3: Paul Coffey.
NNS4: Paul Coffey, oh. He's a snob.
NS1: All hockey players are snobs.
Oh, can I see that book, please?
NNS3: No thanks.
NNS4: I got that magazine, too.
NS1: Please, you got-does he have the "Amazing Oilers,"
the book?
NNS1: No(::)
NNS3: It's not very nice, just
NNS1: "Amazing Oilers," xxx used to have it.
It was only two (dollars) something.
NS1: Really?
NNS4: Yeah.
NNS1: They had it on sale.
NS1: Oh, can I see it, please?
NNS3: Maybe.
NS1: Please.
NNS4: No thanks.
NS3: You should kiss a boy.
NNS4: Yeah (2x). Kiss him.
NNS3: Oh, shut up.
NS1: xxx is a nice boy.
NNS3: Wait a minute. (2x)
NS1: xxx is better than enough.
NS3: He's more normal in the brain.
NS1: Little kids act like such toughies.
NNS4: Oh, my god.
NS1: You go to Catholic school, and you say, "God"?
NNS3: Who's number eight?
NS1: Number eight? We don't have number eight.
NNS4: Who's number ninety-eight?
NNS3: Who's number eighteen?

NS1: We don't have it.
NNS3: Right. Eighteen, Ah, smart. (laughter)
NNS4: You're just laughing out.
NS1: Who's number twenty?
NNS3: Twenty, Lumley. Dave Lumley.
NS1: Who's number nineteen?
NNS3: Nineteen? There's no nineteen.
NS1: Yes, there is.=
NNS3: Wait.
NS1: Linstrom.
NNS3: I-I-I almost talk about, you did.
NNS1: I hate that guy.
NS1: He used to plaly Winnipeg Jets. He traded um Laurie Bashman.
NNS3: Who's right wing or left wing of center? Who is uh Willy Linstrom? He is right wing or left wing?
NS1: Huh, he's a right wing.
NNS3: Huh wrong. Right wing?
NNS4: Who's Huddy? (3x)
NS1: Huddy? Number twenty-two.
NNS4: But what? Center?
NS1: He's defence. I knew that him and Paul work together.
NNS3: Okay (2x), Number four?
NS1: Kevin Lowe.
NNS3: How's he fit in?
NS1: Defence. Right. He's defence.
NNS3: Tom Roulston?
NS1: He's a-he's a left wing.
NNS3: Huh, center.
NNS4: Center? Who knows? How about Messier?
NNS3: Tom Roulston, twenty-four.
NNS4: No(:)
NS1: Mark Messier's a left wing, right?
NNS4: Right wing, dummy.
NNS3: Left wing and center.
NNS4: No way.
NNS3: Yes, it is.
NS1: We don't have an "A" team.
NNS3: They have "A" team.
NS1: They don't. What is it?
NNS3: Sabres.
NS1: Sovard?
NNS3: You're right.
NNS4: That's in Chicago.
NNS3: I know.
NS1: Who's number twenty then?
NNS3: Who? Where?
NS1: Chicago.
NNS3: Who's number twenty-four?
NS1: Who's number twenty in Chicago?
NNS3: I don't know.
NS1: Al Secord.
NNS3: Secord? Okay, who's number twenty-four?

Wilson, second best man, you know.
NS1: Anderson?
NNS3: (sounds like) And Wilson, on defence, you know.
NS1: You mean Wilson from Chicago?
NNS3: Yeah, Wilson.
NS1: That guy's a cheater. I hate him.
NNS3: I know. But he's-he's best-best defence in the last year.
NNS1: No. Kevin Lowe was.
NNS3: You gonna watch it tonight?
NS1: Watch what?
NNS3: You gonna watch tonight hockey game?
NS1: No. I only watch Oilers games. Well maybe, if I'm not going to the library.
NNS3: Tonight, Boston will win.
NNS4: Uh uh. Islanders.
NNS1: Islanders are better. You know uh um you know, I can't tell you.
All: (laughter)
NS1: Okay, um if I told him my address, they won't find it anyways.
NS2: (Be)cause they're too dumb.
NS3: Oh! Yeah. (3x)
NNS1: Tell me. Tell me your address.
NS1: 3136-78 street. (speaking rapidly)
NNS1: What?
NS1: 3136-78 street. (speaking slowly)
You can't find it. It's too hard.
NNS1: Yeah, right.
NNS3: You know, how many uh Mark Messier uh how many goals?
NNS4: In the face-face off or
NNS3: We not talk about face-off. Play-offs (2x), I mean.
NNS1: He has thirteen goals.
NNS4: Fourteen goals.
NNS3: Fourteen goals. (S)he-(s)he doesn't know anything about that. How about-how about Gretzky?
NS1: Yeah, he has-he has, I think, ten, eleven or twelve.
NNS3: Just one. What is it?
NNS4: What is it, yeah?
NS1: Oh, I think it's eleven.
NNS3: She's right this time. (laughter)
Uh, you know, uh how many, Tuesday-last Tuesday?
How many did uh Anderson got?
NS1: Anderson, he got four goals.
NNS3: Mark Messier?
NNS4: ⌈Three.⌉
NNS1: ⌊Three.⌋ Uh who doesn't know that?
NNS3: Who-who got one? (2x)
NS1: Uh Hunter. (2x)
NNS1: Who doesn't know that?
NNS3: You. (laughter)
NNS3: How many did got Anderson, all together, in Play-offs.
NS1: I think he has (.)
NNS3: How many? How much?

NS1: Uh(:) I'm not sure. I think nine.
NNS3: Uh (surprising sound) seven. How about Darrell Coffey?
NS1: Paul Coffey?
NNS3: Paul Coffey.
NNS1: No, Glen Anderson has more than that.
NNS3: I know, but how many-how much did he got? How many?
NNS1: Who?
NS1: Paul Coffey.
NNS3: Seven for Paul Coffey.
NS1: Oh, I don't know.

Tape #21, May, 13. 1983.

NS3: Have you read "Laura's Song"?
NNS2: Yeah.
NS3: "Little Sister"?
NNS2: "Laura Song," I have.
NS3: Have you read, "Little Sister, P.S.: I Love You,"?
Did you check it out from the library?
NNS5: Let me read the book.
Where did you get that book?
NNS2: That book, I mean, in the library. You read-you have
to read, I mean, you get this book in yo[ur]
NS3: [Ju]nior High
NNS2: Nothing dirty.
NS3: There's nothing dirty.
NNS2: They-they hardly kissing, hardly (.) That's good.
NNS4: What are you eating?
NS1: Candy.
NNS1: Jaw-breaker.
NS3: My sister's carzy about them.
NNS1: About who?
NS3: Jaw-breakers. (laughter)
NS1: Oh, I thought you said she's crazy about them.
All: Oooh!
NNS2: Oh, there's reason for it.
NS1: xxx's hobby is eating.
NNS1: No.
NS1: The only thing I'm good at in school is Math.
NNS1: The only thing I'm good at school is /
NS1: /Fooling around?/
NNS1: Yeah. That makes Mr. xxx yell at me.
I call him James. He get mad, but I still call him.
NS3: Who's that?
NS1: Dash James xxx.
NNS1: It's his middle name.
NNS2: Oh, Dash. I call him Dash.
NS1: Whenever (2x) Mr. xxx screams, his face is red.
His neck is all red, huh.
NNS2: Know what? We could heard.
NS2: When Mr. xxx gets mad, his face is just blushing.
NS1: You guys can hear Mr. xxx scream, can't you?
NNS2: Yeah.
NS1: It's partially our fault.

NNS2: He go, xxx, sit down here.
NS1: He's always brat. He always has to talk back.
NNS1: I never talk to him back.
NS1: Huh, oh, yeah.
NNS1: Except for twice. I said um/
NS1: /He always goes, ooh!,/
Do I have to? He goes, Why?. He goes, Geez.
All: (laughter)
NS1: All the time, you, xxx.
NNS1: So?
NNS5: That's talking back.
NS1: But-but xxx, he's nice if you talk to him personally.
When he-whenever the teacher goes, xxx, sit down.
He's always go, ooh, or something like that (.)
That's [what he's complaining.]
NS2: [That's just for atten]tion, you know.
NS1: He's got enough. (2x)
NNS1: He-he want some more. That's what he told me.
NS1: When did he (2x) tell you that?
NNS1: Why?
NS1: Because did he tell you that before like xxx left
him or after?
NNS1: Why you wanna know? I'm not gonna tell you that.
NS1: Why are you chicken?
NNS1: No(::)
NS3: Well what do you have in your socks?
NNS1: A comb.
NNS2: A comb?
NNS1: Yeah. My comb's in here. (laughter)
Because-because xxx pour water on my head and
I have to comb my hair, and then I have to go
outside. So I put it in my sock.
NS3: Probably dirty.
NNS1: No, it isn't. So I can wash it off.
NS1: I eat a jaw-breaker during the class. I chew gum
during the class. Mr. xxx never says anything.
NNS1: He never know anything.
NNS2: No, he's nice, and he's cute/
NS1: /Except for his face?/
NNS1: I like his voice.
NNS2: Uh I like. He always go,/
NS1: /He always goes,/
whenever he talks "s" and he goes, okay, gang, so,
you know, he goes and he'll go, so(:) His "s" in
"so" is like/
NS2: /Mrs. xxx./
NS1: Yeah, that's right. I think it's because there's
so many S's in one word or thomething like that.
NS2: His voice is not dark, but it's not high.
It's not dark like-like Mr. Kim. No, Mr. Kim's
voice is not high. Or not. You're not Tae-kown-Do
teacher.
All: Oooh.
NS2: Oh, Mr. Kim's (Tea-Kown-Do teacher) so cute.

NS1: He's an adoarable man.
NNS5: He's a terrible man?
All: Adorable!
NNS1: I'm jealous about him.
NS2: He's so cute.
NS3: See that guy over there.
All: Oooh!
NS3: He's ugly.
All: He's dry.
NNS5: No, you could-you could go to hockey game.
NNS1: Andy Moog is cute.
NS1: He's a good looking player. He's twenty-two.
I thought Gretzky was twenty-four.
He's twenty-two.
NNS1: Twenty-three.
NS1: Andy Moog's one year older than Gretzky, and
Andy Moog has a daughter.
NNS1: Yeah. How old is she? (2x)
NS1: She's young like maybe two years old.
All: (laughter)
NS3: You know Mrs. xxx's son?
He looks like Andy Moog's son. What a hunk!
NNS1: I never-I never saw her um son.
NS3: Did you go the the concert?
NNS1: Yeah. I went to Show Time.
NS2: What concert? you went to the Show-time?
All: Oooh!
NNS1: I only had twenty bucks.
NS1: Oooh! Only?
NNS1: So, I had to buy pizza and something like that.
NNS2: Oh, don't even mention that pizza.
NS3: We'll have enough pizza.
NNS1: You're pig.
NNS2: Like you.
NS1: I didn't say anything.
NNS1: I never looked at you.
NS1: You just say like that.
NNS2: I want Dash. (2x)
NS3: Oh my god.
NNS1: Mr. xxx hates you.
NNS2: How do you know, xxx Lee? He doesn't told you.
NS1: He thought I said to xxx like that. And I go, no xxx.
NNS1: Mr. xxx said xxx is nice. xxx, she's fat.
NNS2: Oh, who cares?
NS1: Remember, xxx, when xxx-when she punched you in the
chest?
NNS1: Yeah.
NS1: And then before /
NNS1: When? /
NS1: Remember when I go-uh before uh when I was going
to xxx's house for lunch?
NNS1: Yeah.
NS1: Remember when she punched you there?
NNS1: So?

NS2: xxx! remember that matter?
NNS2: Oh, everybody told me. That's not that-that's not a big deal.
NS2: But I told her! (2x)
NNS5: xxx, you can tell her now. xxx, tell her, please.
NNS2: No. Not a big deal for a girl to punch a boy.
NS1: I know that, but /
NNS1: /What did xxx said? / (2x)
NS2: Mr. Kim's (Tae-Kwon-do instructor) such a nice guy that everyone knows his phone number.
NS1: Yeah, I know. His phone number is 463-2212 or something like that.
All: (laughter)
NS1: His phone number is 462 /
NNS2: / Two what? /
NS1: 463-2213
NNS1: So? I know all the girls' phone number.
NNS2: No, you don't.
NS2: You don't know mine.
NS1: He doesn't know mine.
NNS1: How much you wanna make a bet? I have
NNS2: One thousand dollar?
NNS1: I have the list at home.
NNS2: Oh, yeah. (sarcastically)
NS1: You don't have.
NNS1: Yes, I do. I have your girls', too.
NNS2: Where is it?
NNS1: It's in my desk.
NNS2: You doesn't know her phone number.
NNS1: Um well you told me um-you told me your phone number.
NS1: Well when?
NNS1: You've had bad memory.
NNS5: I also got everything.
NNS1: And I copied it from your binder. You know that blue binder? (laughter)
NS2: You got my phone number on there?
NNS1: (laughter)
NNS5: yeah, you're liar. (2x)
NNS2: Nobody knows my phone number.
NS1: 463-2213
NNS1: Oh, I see.
NS1: So what? Bill knows my phone number, and he phoned me and said all these bad words, and he hang up.
NNS2: Oh, god.
Oh, what-what CBS-oh no not CBS, but what-what?
NS1: CBC?
NNS2: Yeah, CBC, right. They phoned us and they go like, how old are you? And I, about sixteen, you know. Um would you like /
NS3: /It wasn't CBC, you know. /
NNS2: No, it wasn't CBC.
NS1: They said it was CBC.
NS2: TBC?
NNS2: Yeah. TBC, maybe right. And okay,

NS1: Uh do you have things anymore?
NNS2: They're-they have. No. They do. I lied-I said,
I was sixteen, and they said, would you like(.)
any sex or scarry movie?
NS3: I would rather have a scarry movie and they said,
oooh, and what is your favorite T.V. show? I like
uh xx and what's your other one? And I go, oh,
not much, but I think I prefer CHIPS.
NNS2: All these(.) stupid. and my mom-my mom says like
this, if you want to,/
NS1: /I'd say I don't like movies. /
I like Hockey players.
All: (laughter)
NS1: You know what Dave Semenko does? He takes the hockey
stick. I watched-he takes his hockey stick.
He skates like this.
NNS5: He can?
NS1: All of them can.
NNS1: So can I.
NNS5: I can't.
NNS1: I can skate. I can make an expert.
NS2: You can't make Billy Smith.
NNS1: I can.
NS1: My mom likes hockey.
NS3: I hate hockey.
NS2: My mother likes hockey, too.
NNS5: So does my mom.
NNS1: Your mother like honkey? Honkey?
All: HOCKEY!!
NS1: Do you know Hongey? Hongey?
NNS1: Who are? (2x)
NS1: Do you know a guy named Hockey, Hongey, Hongey?
All: It goes, big and fat.
NNS1: Oh, you probably lost time.
NS1: You know what his name is?
NNS1: What?
NS1: Hongey.
NNS1: Hongey?
NS1: Hongey, Hongey.
NNS5: Who's Hongey?
NS3: He lives here.
NNS1: Oh, I beat him up last time.
NS1: Oh, good.
NNS1: He lost one of my Titan hockey stick. he was-it has
Wayne Gretzky sign on it and he wrote it by himself,
and he lost it. And I got mad. I got mad. So
NS2: What did you do?
NS1: Oh, god. If I had something with a Wayne Gretzky's
autograph, he won't live anymore. If ever, ooh, like
xxx, rememoer? xxx took my autographs of the Oilers
around the store last October.
Do you know what Andy Moog does before every game?
He prays.
NNS2: Good.

NS1: He always goes like this, and when they sing, Oh!
Canada, he always goes, Canada is doing his hocks,
he talks. He always prays. Every game he prays.
My dad-and my dad goes, I go-I always go like this,
and my dad goes, he's praying. Oh, that's good.
NS2: Oh, he goes to church, right?
NS1: Hungry. I don't like-I don't think he likes signing
autographs, because when I went to the Northland
Coliseum once with my brother, he comes out right
in blue jacket, and I, everybody just follows him,
but he doesn't stop. He keeps walking, and then
he stops to sign an autograph. He's so cute.
NS3: No. You should go and say if you don't like to sign,
then don't sign it.
NS1: Are you kidding?
All: (laughter)
NS1: I'll follow that guy if he doesn't like it.
NNS1: Who care? She's-she's ba(:)ng.
NS1: xxx? But it's yours. (holding the picture)
NNS1: Yes? Got a problem?
NS1: He's just like yells dogs and fags.
(tearing the picture)
NNS1: I wouldn't do that.
NS1: Why not?
NS2: Why is he so special?
NS1: He hit Glen Anderson.
NNS1: Yeah, and he broke his arm and ankle, whatever he
knew or whatever.
NS3: Did he really-he broke it?
NS1: Yeah.
NNS1: And he never knew, because he was playing hockey
game and concentrating on the hockey game.
NS3: And Glen Anderson didn't knew?
NS1: Because he was concentrating on. And he trapped
Wayne Gretzky.
NNS1: Yeah, I know.
NS1: And he didn't even get a penalty for that.
NNS1: And Wayne Gretzky could have got a goal.
NS1: Yeah, I know. He was just over there. He could have
stick out.
NNS1: And-and about five minutes left in third period,
Gretzky had an excellent chance by the net, but
he misses.
NS1: It goes over the step.
NNS1: No, it didn't.
NS1: Didn't? How didn't?
NNS1: Uh uh he just shoot it by the post, because I think
he was kind of um hesitating or something .
NS1: In other words, nervous.
NNS1: I want it be in nets. (laughter)
NS1: For Andy Moog?
NNS1: I want it, goa(:)l.
NS1: If he-if he hits any-any Oilers, I'll hate him.
All: (laughter)

NNS1: You're a girl.
NS1: You'd better not see that, xxx.
NS3: Why is she scratching like that?
NS1: Because he's laughing.
NNS1: To who?
NS1: Maybe somebody tells her something. They were
something. When Dave Semenko fell and he sat, you
know, where it goes like that. he sat on right there
and Dave Semenko's hockey stick broke.
All: (laughter)
NNS2: Don't come near me. Or else I'll break your neck, Andy
Moog.
NS1: Ooh!!
NS3: What does Andy Moog look like?
NNS1: I'm gonna try to beat Oilers hockey-hockey teams
when I grow up.
NS1: Oh, yeah. (sarcastic)

Tape #22, May, 13. 1983.

NNS1: What's St. Joseph? Where-where is that?
NS1: St. Joseph is a school for the uhm mentally retarded.
NNS2: Retarded?
NNS1: Then xxx should go there(.) And xxx, too.
NNS2: (hits him) Okay?
NS1: xxx, I-I can't be like that. If somebody hits you,
you have to hit back or just say I just hit back.
NNS1: I don't hit back at once.
NS3: xxx is too quiet.
NNS1: No, he isn't, when he play-when he play outside.
God.
NNS2: I-I hate him. He use people.
NS3: No, he doesn't.
NNS2: He uses people.
NNS1: No, he doesn't. I know him.
NNS2: I think he-he us xxx.
NS1: Oh, he doesn't seem to use him.
NNS2: That's how he using him.
NNS1: He does-he never use him (.) any kind of person.
I know that song. I have that.
NNS2: Oh, come on. I listen.
NS2: What's the station? Is it six thirtith (630)?
NNS1: No, anytime you have to listen to this.
It sounds, Billy-Billy Jean's Beat it.
NNS2: I mean.
NNS1: No. Michael Jackson.
NS1: I never heard it. I never heard Billy Jean.
NNS2: (singing)
NNS1: No. Billy Jean said, my door.
NNS2: No.
NNS1: Uh huh. My friend-my friend um uncle goes to the
six-thirty Ched, and he um/
NNS2: /He does? /
NS1: Yeah, he works there/

NNS1: /he works at there./
And-and he-he has all the list for songs, and he
said that it um he know every songs and he has
about, you know, he has about one hundred and
fifty record, my friend, xxx, I mean.
It's hot, hey?
NNS2: Hotter than "Kimchi"?
NNS1: I don't eat "Kimchi."
NS1: Oh, my mother doesn't make "kimchi."
NNS2: You don't like "Kimchi"?
NS2: I know "Kimchi". If I don't eat-if I don't eat rice
without it, I can't eat.
NS3: This book (2x) is good.
NNS2: Yeah, good.
NS3: It's not dirty. It's not boring and it's good.
NNS2: I'll see them.
NNS1: How do you know?
NNS2: You have to read this. You have to read this
in Junior High.
NNS1: Why? Can I borrow this book?
I won't bug you any more.
NS1: You just borrow it in grade seven, and
NNS1: Please, I won't bug you any more, pleas(:)se.
NNS2: (Have you) ever known the cover?
NNS1: No, I gonna see it.
NNS2: No(:) This is a little bit, okay, give-give him
a large part. Oh, I'm wondering.
NNS1: Let me borrow that.
NS3: No, you can't.
NNS1: Yes. (angrily)
NS3: That's boring. (2x)
NNS2: That's boring.
NNS1: It is? Give me that. (snatching the book)
NNS2: No. I'm-I'm, ooh.
NNS1: Which one's-which one's better?
NS3: Laura's Song, right?
NNS2: It's good.
NNS1: And when you finish that, give it-give it to me, okay?
NS1: How does xxx comb his hair to feather back?
NNS1: He can't feather back(.) xxx can't feather his-his
NS3: Yes, he can.
NNS1: Well if he use hair dryer or something like that,
but not let a comb. His hair was always down like
that.
NS2: I know.
NS1: You know what? If you want to comb his hair, right?
he should part it, right? and comb it back.
NNS1: That's what I do.
NNS2: No. Guys with um body waves, man.
NS1: Body wave?
NNS2: Make us no. So.
NS1: Better now.
NNS2: No. That's better, or like they have permanent.
It's not real curly. It's kind of, you know.

NNS1: xxx?
NS1: I like guys. (2x) And I always look at the back of
their head, right? And their hair comes up feathered
like that, short, and then if I go, ooh, I think he
looks cute, and then I look at his friend.
Oh, goodness.
NNS2: xxx, be nice to me. I mean, be nice to all the girl.
NS1: Promise?
NNS1: Yeah.
NNS2: Are you? Do you-are you really gonna be nice to girls?
NNS1: Yeah, I then breaking pro-I mean, promise.
NS1: Promise, you're gonna break?
All: (laughter)
NS1: You know, that's my mom-mother's story.
You know those big tanks that-that fell on
my mom's legs? She got a big bruise right over-right
over there, and it's all purple. Ah, so gross.
NNS1: So? Um when I went to the West Edmonton Mall, and
it was no-um-not West-West Edmonton Mall, by-by close
from there. There is um Arcade, then it is no built,
and I went there with my friend, and Arcade machine
just fell on my knee.
NS1: You should see then.
How do you go home, xxx?
NNS2: He-he pick us up.
NS1: He takes you?
NNS1: Yeah, he take me.
NS1: I've got my bike here.
NNS1: So? he can carry it.
NS2: I have to go so soon.
NNS1: So you walk, okay? I mean, you can take a ride, okay?
I wanna-I wanna
NS3: Don't stop in her house. Stop in near her house.
NNS1: Yeah, near my house, (be)cause I don't want um ah.
It doesn't matter.
NS3: He can't-he can't remember anyways.
NNS1: How do you know?
NS1: Because you have bad memory.
You know what? (2x) You know what shirt you have?
NNS1: Yeah.
NS1: That looks good with that.
NNS1: I know that. My mom pick me-my mom boutht that.
NNS2: You look good-you look good in Jordache.
NNS1: I have some design Jeans, but I didn't wear them.
NS2: Why?
NNS1: My parents bought them, and they're so tight, but
I don't wear them.
NNS2: You should be tight.
NNS1: So they're shorts, not jeans.
NS1: I'm only four point nine.
NNS2: She's not short.
NS2: I'm taller than you.
NS1: Are you really five?
NS2: Yeah, I'm five.

NS1: Stand. Stand here.
NNS1: Hey, do you want to get my comb?
NS1: Oh, sorry! Who's taller, xxx?
NNS1: Just same.
NS1: Are you kidding?
NNS2: No, no. She doesn't, okay.
NS1: I'm so short.

C. NON-NATIVE SPEAKER TALK

Tape #9, Feb. 23. 1983.

2: You know, I'm different to the Canadian kids, because
like if teachers think um speak, I mean, teachers
think something in English, and tell me something,
right? For example, when he says, um xxx, pick up
that book, right? I don't-I don't understand that
English, I think about Korean first,
then I understand.
1: I don't.
R: When I come over here at one o'clock, is it convenient
for you?
5: I don't know. One o'clock?
2: Oh, no(::) I'm gonna miss my Math period.
That's my favorite subject. Okay, and-but I don't,
okay, well I don't mind it, if it's gym period,
(be)cause like gym isn't really important to you.
It dosn't teach you any lessons except fitness.
1: Oh, really?
2: Well I don't think gym's so important,
like /   / music.
1:      /To me it is /
2: Yeah, to you it is, but not to me, I think.
I think social's really really important than gym.
Gym, when you grow up, then you could be Olympic.

Tape #10, Feb. 23. 1983.

2: I don't think their-I don't think their English is
low, I think um, for example, um for example, um
I don't like when-when somebody knows how to speak
Korean and they try to speak English in front of this
big, like adults and I don't really like that.
They-they know to speak Eng-I mean, Korean, but
they try to speak English. But they don't even
know how to speak. I hate that. Well if they're
Korean, then, they're-then-they remember Korean.
They can, the hair doesn't-the blood doesn't turn
into green. Well I hate that. I hate when somebody
does that. Especially xxx, she thinks she's totally
Canadian.=
1: So? (S)He's better than you, huh.

R: She was born in/
2: /No. /
1: Here, I think.
2: No, you don't even know. She came here when she was
six month. Okay, xxx, when I- when did you came?
I mean uhm what grade for you when you came here?
1: Five, uhm, when, uhm.
2: Did you pass? You-you know the Math already, right?
1: Yeah.
2: Well but I don't. I came here when I was grade four.
So don't show off.
1: What did I show off?
2: You're here. (3x) Everybody do-um every didn't know
this question, but I got it.
1: So?
2: Got it?
1: So? (hitting the partner)
2: It doesn't tickle, you know?
You're spoiled. You know what "spoiled" means?
1: Yeah.
2: What?
1: What? Boiled? Boil?
2: Spoil. (laughing)
1: Spoil, yeah.
2: What?
1: It makes sort of like um um uh.
2: They're sort of like uh uhu? [Okay?]
1: [Shut up.]
You think?
2: Yeah. You know why?
Because/ / you think it's nice.
1: /Ah, shut up (5x)/
2: When-when he bug all this-bugs this girl, xxx?
He-he calls her balck face, so.
1: I said, black, because, she-I never bugged her.
2: What?
1: She starts to bug me. So I said, I call- uh start
to call her name. That's it. She bugged me first.
2: Oh, yeah. You know what xxx told me?
You bugged her first.
1: Yeah, I know.
2: Yeah, then you bugged her.
1: Well next day I never called her a name, and right
up front there, she goes, oh, what did you call me
at lunch time? I never called her any name. I just-
I never talk-talked to her. She goes, what did you
call me lunch time? And I said, I get lost.
2: Well why did you blame on xxx, then?
1: Because she was bugging me, too. And she ripped
my-my jacket. She ripped my gloves.
2: I get really mad at you sometimes, you know. You look
so ugly. Your face look like pancake or something.
1: So? So your face has pimples. That's why I call it
pimple face.

2: I don't care.
1: I don't care, too.
2: You know what cause pimples?
1: Pimple face. (3x)
2: Oil on your face, right?
1: Pimple face.
2: You get lost, you stupid.
She-he always screams. He goes, aahh.
Remember last time when-when we was um we're watching uh whatever.
1: Film, no movie? Gulliver's Travels?
2: Yeah, Gu-gulliver. Yeah, we went to Guilliver or Guilliver, whatever it was. Well we're watching it. As soon as it was ended, he's xx, aahh. (laughter)
1: So? What about xxx? So did xxx. (2x)
2: I don't care, because he's cute.
1: Oh, well I don't care, too. You don't have to tell me that. And she-he hates you.
2: So?
1: So?
2: I don't care. I don't care no matter what he thinks about me.
1: Okay.
She thinks she's so great. Every boy hates her but she goes, oh, I like every girl in this classroom.
That's what you did, right?
Because that's what xxx said.
2: What about you?
1: And I know what you did. I also know what you did in swimming pool.
2: What?
1: Lockers. That's what xxx told me.
2: What?
1: You naked and you was like singing or something like that and you got a bra and you stand right in front of the mirror, something like that.
That's what xxx told me.
2: xxx, okay. Okay, tomorrow let me tell xxx.
1: Tomorrow?
2: If-if she says, okay, in-on Monday, if she say, no, then you're in trouble.
1: Okay, I don't care about it. That's what xxx tole me.
2: Well I don't care about what xxx told you. But okay I want to find it's true or not.
Do you know what xx means?
1: Yeah.
2: What?
1: xx is sort of like-that sort of like um
2: I don't learn those words, okay?
Because I'm a good girl.
1: Oh, really?
2: I don't learn those words, but you do.
1: If you're good girl, I'll work to get xxx or xxx, or xxx, okay?

2: What? What are you talking about?
1: Oh, you can't understand English. Oh, now you're gonna go back to Mrs. xxx.
2: I wish I could go back to Mrs. xxx.
xxx play-she is nice. She's nice, but sometimes she
1: She doesn't like xxx.
R: How about xxx?
1: I don't like to think so. And xxx, too.
2: How do you know?
1: Becau[se]
2: [She] hates xxx, because xxx and xxx had a fight.
1: Really?
2: Yeah.
1: How do you know?
2: They had a fight, because
1: They had a fight?
2: They're always swearing.

Tape #11, March. 14. 1983.

R: Who's the youngest among you?
4: It's him.
3: No, you.
4: You.
How old are you? (laughter)
3: Twelve. You're eleven-ten?
4: Uh I'm-I'm twelve (be)cause my birthday was in March ninth.
3: How old are you?
4: Eleven.
3: How about ten?
4: Someone's older than me.
R: Today I watched xxx and xxx play hockey.
5: Me, me, too.
R: Yes, you, too.
3: I don't know. It's too short.
1: No, it isn't.
3: It's too short. Five min/
1: /You mean the floor hockey?/
3: Yeah, it was floor hockey.
2: Thirty minutes.
5: That's not short.
3: What are you talking about?
1: So we(:)/
5: /You're not interested in the game./
1: He is?
3: I-I interest, but I can't play very well.
4: He's a good player.
1: No way.
3: Yeah. Right.
4: xxx was better.
3: He thinks that he is so great.
R: xxx, xxx is better?
3: Yeah, of course.

5: He thinks he's a jerk.
4: Oh, shut up. How about you?
3: xxx is your brother?
1: So?
4: So? Beat him up. Come on. Fight. Come on, man.
R: What is your favorite subject?
5: Math. That's all right.
3: Uh huh. I don't like Math.
4: He doesn't like everything except Math.
1: Well my favorite one is, I guess, social.
R: Social studies? But you told me social studies
were very difficult for you.
1: Yeah, but I like it.
She's gonna be, you know, the janitor, that woman
janitor. That's what she's gonna be, school janitor.
2: Oh! God! Shut your mouth. Okay, my be-I mean-um my
favorite subject is Math(.) a(:)nd art, a(:)nd
science.
4: Science, yech!
1: I like science.
2: And-and um sometimes I like language art. And it's a
little diffi-difficult to me to learn like word, like
really hard words. Okay, but if I grow up and
go the university or(.)/
1: /College? /
2: And I'm gonna-I'm gonna be fashion designer or arts
or maybe be an artist or-or be a- be a secretary.
I want to be a secretary, but you don't make a lot
of money out of that. So /
1: /Yes, you could./
If you go-if you go down to States and um find-find
the xx, oh, well boss of some kind of company like
um zerox of com-um-boss. And then-and then um ask
him. You can-if she can be a jan-secretary and if he
say, yes, then she can get, you know, money.
2: And like, okay, then I'm gonna be a like, /okay,
well my mom want to be like uh okay-my mom want to
and if-but I-I like to be fashion designer, but
like okay.
3: Wow.
1: Even though she is ugly.
R: No, she isn't. She's a beautiful girl.
4: What?
R: When you grow up you'll follow her wherever she goes.
5: I wouldn't follow that-her.
2: I don't want that to follow me.
4: I don't want to follow you, either.
2: So that's good. Okay but uh my mom want to-wants me
to be a doctor, right? I don't want to (be)cause-well
you make a lot of money, right? But if you like, okay,
5: What is it?
2: If you have like a operations of something and if
you were looking inside, it feels like burping or
barping. It makes me so(.) sick. Or dentist, if you

take off your like okay,
4: Brace?
2: Yeah, brace or something. It's really hard. That's
what I think so. And so, I think fashion designer
is the best things, right? If-if you become a um
fashion designer, then you have to learn French, too.
5: French, too?
2: You have to learn it.
1: Why? What for?
2: I don't know.
1: Who said? (2x)
2: Well our teacher did.
1: Yeah, right. So if you go to Saint Hill, that
Catholic school, you can learn French or Ukrainian.
So I'm gonna take French.
R: What do you want to be, xxx?
4: Judge.
2: Oh, yeah.
1: Oh, sick. Judge is sick.
R: Why do you want to be a judge?
4: I don't know. My parents want me to.
1: Oh, you don't know what's judge.
R: Is it easy for you to speak in English?
4: Yeah, sort of.
2: You only been here about one years or something.
And you forgot how to speak Korean and you doesn't
know how to speak Korean and I hate that kind of guy.
4: Huh? I know how to speak.
2: You know, okay, when you, okay, when somebody (2x)
came to our school, I don't know what he's called,
okay, this man, right? When this man came, right?
And he was speaking and he sound so funny. Like it
sounds like (3x) Canadian-speaking Korean. But they
don't understand what they're talking about.
4: How about you know?
You go, uh uh over there uh uh that man (2x) came
from uh uh from Korea. (speaking Korean)
2: See! You don't even know how to speak.
4: Well I forgot.
3: So what?
4: Yeah, man, so what?
R: What is your favorite sport, xxx?
4: What?
Uh uh baseball. yeah.
2: I love baseball.
3: I don't like. I'm just rugby. I never seen.
Canadian baseball like this. (underthrowing motion)
All: No. It's a softball.
3: I can't hit this side.
4: It's softball. It's easy.
3: Yeah, very easy.
5: When I played first time, I say it's hard, anyway.
3: First time I got strike out.=
4: I hit it.

5: You hit home-run?
3: Never, he never.
2: It was so easy.
3: Strike, I mean, strike out. You go like this. Out.
All: (laughter)
R: Do you have any sports club in your school?
1: Well I-well I have track.
2: Yes, we do. xxx, would you just go outside and
just shove your mouth in the snow?
1: Okay, I'll go outside, okay?
2: Please do.
5: Can I go?
4: Make me go.
3: You can't make club. This school don't have any club.
2: Yes, we do. They have track. They have floor hockey.
They have(.)
3: No, they don't.
1: Floor hockey, that's not.
4: That's team.
1: That's intramurals.
2: Oh, we soon gonna have-have, Mr. xxx said, we-we soon
gonna have, you know, the uh soccer team.
1: Not for girls. (2x)
2: Yes, for girls and boys.
4: We did soccer already.
1: Well, okay, there's intramurals. and then track.
3: Running, yeah.
1: And there's computer club. I wanted to join it,
but I didn't.
2: Yeah, I'm in computer club.
1: Yeah, right. Yeah, you are.
4: Uh I'm talking like grade six was like six and five
was like asking us to play soccer, right? We were
just nine? um nine people. But we won three times,
no lose, no ties, just three times in a row.
How's that, uh huh?
3: They don't like to play.
4: Now they don't want to play. Do you wanna play soccer?
Get lost.
3: They don't want get lost.
4: Yeah. They don't want to play. They don't want to
lose again.
5: So what?
4: So what? So you're so close. That's all. I'm so small.
3: Small just like E.T.
4: E.T. (2x)
5: Come here, E.T.
2: Oh, I hate. Sometimes they're not like Korean.
You know what? Mr. xxx is such a male chauvinist.
3: Wow. Two big word.
4: I know. xxx and xxx.
2: No. xxx is nice.
5: Mr. xxx yells all the time, right?
2: No, he doesn't. He's really funny.

3: Who?
2: Mr. xxx. Okay, but Mr.-Mrs. xxx's /
3: /What?/
2: Mr. xxx isn't that funny even. I think he's nice.
5: He makes up lots of jokes.
2: I think he's kind of keen. Well I used to like him, but not any more. He's too quiet.
3: Too quiet? Yech.
5: Everybody calls Mr. xxx Mr. xxx.
3: Mr. xxx.
5: Sometimes Mr. xxx.
2: Yeah, xxx. I call him xxx.
4: I goes, Hello, xxx. (laughing)
2: What time is it?
3: I-I got hungry. I'm hungry.
4: I'm feeling hungry. Can you buy us a hot-uh hamburg?
2: Hamburger?
3: [Let's go.]
4: [Let's go,] directly.
R: Yes, I'll treat you.
All: Wow.
4: Oh, yeah. Come on. Can I have pizza?
R: On the way back home.
2: Back home? Must have pizza.
4: Yeah, I like pizza.
3: Yech.
2: Pizza, uhmm I love pizza.
3: I hate pizza. I never eat.
4: I'm pizza.
3: Ever eat?
4: So? Most pizza is good. But I like uh
All: (laughing)
3: Why is so quiet?
2: Oh, I could smell the pizza.
3: What's so funny now?
2: Your hair look like xx paper.
3: Green hill?
2: You know what?=
3: What is it?
All: (laughter)
2: There's this guy(.) called(.) - there's this guy called xxx in our classroom a(:)nd
4: Yeah (2x), he's bald.
All: (laughter)
3: He go like this.
All: (laughter)
2: I hate him. He's such a /
4: /Yeah, I hate him, too./
3: xxx?
2: Yeah, xxx.
5: I hate xxx.
2: I-I don't like all the Korean guys. Remember that.
4: I'm cool now.
2: Well sometimes I do like uhm. I don't like them

most of time.
We have Tae-Kwon-Do club. I-I take Tae-Kwon-Do lessons.
5: You know, my-my(.) my brother doesn't take lesson, but he-his brother is a-he got two brothers and tow friends and
2: They both are brothers? Black belt?
5: And they-they-they teach my brother and you know, how they teach my brother to do push-up like this on the floor.
3: I gonna uh learn-learn the boxing.
2: I could just to-I could just do that. I'll be white belt only. I'm gonna pass.
5: I'm going to have white belt soon.
2: When are you going to pass?
5: In August or second around. I'll learn kick-boxing.
3: I love kick-boxing.
2: I love kick-boxing, too.
5: My brother's friend, they both were belt, right? And then they crashed into window. Their heads nearly got crushed or something. The windows all broken now.
2: Can you believe that? Okay, I-I, okay, my friend, okay, I was, my friend, they're having pary, right? And-and they have some bricks. And they want to break them. I can't remember (be)cause that was last year, right? And I just, and I just went um like that, right? And they just break them. They go, how did I kick like that?. I said nothing (be)cause I don't want to show off.
5: Nobody want to show off.
R: How about Canadians?
2: They show off more than Koreans.
5: More than Koreans?
2: Just a little tiny thing, like a new thing, right? Look at this stuff. I bought this thing and it is really kee(:)n.

Tape #11, March. 17. 1983.

R: xxx, would you like to talk about Saint Patrick's day?
2: No, he can't.
5: Uh uh, he can.
3: No, I don't like that. Too hard, right?
Tomorrow we get spelling test but I guess,
4: Oh, Math uh spelling and social test tomorrow.
3: I got hundred percent?
4: Yeah, excellent.
R: xxx, where have you been?
1: Oh, I was talking to one of my friends.
R: Oh, then you come here. And could you explain Saint Patrick's day?
4: I know. I know what. I know.

1: Well I guess it's sort of like.=
4: Some long time ago in uh Ireland, in Europe-in Europe there's a country named Ireland, and there is-there was like pirates. And every time, every month or week they came to um a village, and took someone to like help clean their ship and something like that. Uh uh and pira-pirates took Saint Patrick, when he was six or seven, and he escaped(.) to, I mean, England.
3: Yeah, England.
4: England, yeah. And he-he-he uh he (3x) uh he got- he's Christ. He-he got uh like he (3x) he's like Christ, and he came um like when he was eigheen, and he-he went back to Ireland.
R: Ireland, again?
4: Uh huh. And he teached all the people that believe in god. And um he-that everybody that the snake was god and they took Saint Patrick. They took snake to ocean or something like that. They belived that like taht. And Saint patrick died in March seventeenth.
R: Why do you wear green on Saint Patrick's day?
2: (Be)cause, okay (2x), there-there was a fairy tale made by the Ireland people. They, okay, they made the something mad, the-the Leprechaun or something.=
4: Shamrock.
3: Oh, would you be quiet?
2: Leprechaun, right? And he always wear green, and (2x) if you catch him, then (2x) you have a good luck.=
1: Gold, gold, a pile of gold.
4: Well whatever.
1: Yeah, remember, you know. the uhm um commercial like a meal, that um a sort of like a Bonus Draw? And there's always that, I mean, green, green uhm
2: Leprechaun.
1: Yeah, whatever.
4: I have another reason for they're wearing green. Ireland is very, I mean, like good. There's uh chips /   / , I mean, /   /
3: /potato/ /potato/
4: There's like uh trees and grass and all green. That's why they wear green.
R: Oh, that's the reason. So did you wear green stuff?
4: Yeah, I did.
3: I did.
5: He's wearing green over here. He's wearing green pants.
R: What did you do for Saint Parick's day?
4: We write, like, Mrs. xxx said. We're Leprechaun for one day, Saint Patrick's day today, and we write uh something about Leprechaun.

1: You know, in Spokane, Spokane, they got um they have sort of like basketball for Saint Patrick's day. Spokane.

4: New York has(.) good parade.

R: In Korea, we have children's day for boys and girls.

2: Oh, we have Halloween.

1: No, we don't.

2: No. In Canada, we have Halloween.

1: Halloween? That's not for only girl-um-little boys and girls.

2: I know. But it's for everyone. But that's sort of like but they don't any-they don't have childre's day here.

3: They have Mothers' Day and Fathers' Day.

2: Halloween is that.

5: It's separate. There's Fathers' Day and Mothers' Day.

1: Mothers' Day is earlier and then three days later and then

R: Why don't the Canadians have a particular day for children then?

2: (Be)cause like, okay, in our country (Korea) some-this man made this(.) I forget. It's called PA PA something.

3: PA?

2: No. I forget.

4: Oh, that thing, I know, yeah.

1: SO SO uh uh Bang Jung-Whan.

R: So-Pa Bang Jung-Whan. Oh, you have an excellent memory.

1: Well she only said (2x). she never said. Well she went, Pa Pa Pa pa.

All: (laughter)

2: Well you're here but one year or something, and I've been here for two years.

1: I don't care. What's the difference?

4: For two years? And you didn't went to regular class for two years, right?

2: No, I stayed here for one year, then I didn't go to school for one month.

4: Yeah, right.

1: So what's the big deal about one month?

2: One month? I said one year.

1: One year?

2: Yeah, I said one year.

1: So that's your problem.

2: Okay, and they um he made a Children's Day. But not this country. But we have Halloween.

4: So? We have two weekends, but uh Korea has just one weekend.

5: Just Sunday?

2: But I hate that.

4: I don't go to church.

2: Oh, that's bad. We go to church.

4: In Korea, I said.
2: Yeah, in Korea.
1: In Korea, I never went to church.=
4: I know. I just saw church. That's all.
2: I go to a Sunday school.
1: My church doesn't have Sunday school. My church
doesn't have it. Well they do. But not for um
all my brother and age.
5: We go out camping almost every weekend.
2: You know, this church. That's called xxx.
4: Mine's Catholic. I like Catholics.
2: Okay, you remember that? Um I forgot her-who-her
name was and-and that man um um
5: xxx ? (the name of church minister)
2: Oh, yeah, xxx.
1: I know him.
2: Do you know him?
1: Well I used to go to xxx. (the name of the church)
And they taught about xxx and xxx even came to
our church.
2: Okay, and this woman with-with xxx and she-she
grew up or something like. Oh, I forget her-who-her
name was. Like she, okay, I like her. I forgot her
name.
5: I hear.
2: Something like, okay, this person I read and
I read whole book in Korean. It's about this thick
and it's about her life/ /and xxx.
1: /Whose?/
Yeah, sure, right. You did.
2: Yeah, it's called xxx. (the title of the book)
1: That's not. How thick was it?
2: It's about this big.
1: Yeah, right. It's about only like that. I read it,
too.
2: No, it's not that. It's like that.
1: It's only about that thick.
2: Uh uh.
1: It is
2: How big is that?
1: About that.
2: No.
1: Yes.
2: It's about this thick.
5: Last week (2x), there is chorus team to our
church from Korea.
2: Last week?
5: But I don't know. I didn't understand their singing.
But everybody said, good singing. And I thoutht
it was real funny.
2: What's the matter? (laughter)
1: Oh, I should ask her.
5: What?
1: Does she likes me? (laughter)

2: She does.
1: xxx?
2: She likes her brother. But they like xxx.
Uh uh I'm not supposed to tell. (laughter)
5: She likes / / xxx, xxx and xxx.
1: /I already know/
2: Yeah, as friends.
R: xxx is one of xxx's best friends?
1: Okay (2x), xxx and xxx likes and then xxx, and
then xxx.
4: xxx's talking funk like xxx.
It's-that's xxx in joke.
5: In my class everyone calls him xxx Wonder.
1: xxx, xxx Wonder was what's been called a singer.
2: I know.
Oh, I know why you don't hang around with xxx all
these days.
1: Yeah, because xxx when I do something wrong, only
a little bit wrong, he yells at me a(:)nd
2: He doesn't like you.
1: Yeah. So I'm not hanging around with him any more.
2: There's this guy named called xxx, and he's so
bossy, but=
1: He is not bossy.
2: Well he's bossy to you guys. But he's not so
bossy to girls, or any other.
4: He don't talks to.
2: Yeah, he doesn't even talk to girls.
1: Yeah, he doesn't even talk to girls, but he's
good-he's good at every sports. So girls like him.
2: I don't.
1: Well I don't care.
4: You used to like him.
1: Shut up.
2: You go, ah, he's cute.
1: There's a girl named xxx. Like um xxx thinks xxx's
real great, and xxx likes xxx as a friend, and uhm,=
2: xxx likes him a lo(:)t. You see in the classroom?
Oh she touches him and everything.=
1: xxx?
2: Yeah, (s)he teases him like nothing.
1: I don't care.
5: You don't care?
4: I don't care, either.
R: xxx, what do you think about your parents?
Your father?
1: My father? Well sometimes he's nice sometimes
he's /
2: /Strict./
1: Well it's true.
4: Your dad's always drunk.
2: He never drinks. He doesn't even know how to drink.
4: Uh huh you think huh?
1: Especially I think my parents are working harder

than the other parents, because they have night-night shift.
5: Like last year, my dad, no two year ago-no when he came to Canada, he went-work-went-work with my uncle. And there's the Canadians. They work about twenty hour-hours in one week, and the other week they go out play.
4: Twenty hours in one week?
5: No. One day.
4: One day?
5: And then the next week they go out camping and like that.
3: How much it is?
4: How much for hour?
5: I don't know.
R: You don't study very hard at home?
3: Yeah. I am not.
4: I don't, either.
R: xxx, you have to study very hard, I think.
3: I know.
4: You don't chew gum in school.
She gave me warning(.) gu(:)m.
R: Maybe next semester you will be in Junior High.
2: Oh, I hope they don't go to Edith Rogers.
I hope they couldn't go.
1: I'm going to Saint Hilda's anyway.
2: Good.
1: But xxx and xxx, they go to Edith Rogers.
R: Saint Hilda is a Catholic school?
1: Yes, Saint Hilda.
R: So you have a chance to learn French?
1: Uh huh.
2: But you have to pay.
1: No, you don't.
R: Why do you quarrel whenever you meet?
1: It's fun.=
4: Yeah, excellent.
R: That's only for fun.
1: Yeah, I guess so.
4: He hits me a lot, but he likes me really.
R: Yes. In the classroom you have to take care of him because he's so young.
2: Young? You call him young?
R: Yeah.
2: He looks like thirteen or something.
4: So?
2: But he acts like a baby, like something about-around four or five.
3: Four or five years old? Wow.
We're wish-we're going uh MacDonald?
R: Where is it?
3: I know where. I can go.
1: I drive a car. You see. I drive.
R: I'll drive you.

3: You-you will going? You will going?
R: Yes, I will give you a special treat.
3: Go to (2x)?
R: MacDonald or
2: Pizza.
4: Pizza Hot.
3: No way. Shut up. MacDonald. I hate pizza.
5: Dairy pozza is too expensive.
3: We're not going pizza.
4: We love pozza. You know that?
3: I'm not going. I'll laugh.
4: Pizza Hot. Pizza to go. (laughter)
3: Forget it, okay?

Tape #12, March, 17. 1983.

R: xxx, you are older than the other students in the ESL class?
3: Ah, me? You mean ages?
R: Yes, ages.
3: No, I'm-I'm younger-not younger than, but we have just twelve people, and uh six people is older than me.
R: Oh, I see. Six are older than you.
3: Just one month old(er), two month old(er).
R: How about xxx?
3: He was eleven? Just eleven, I don't know.
4: I'm ten. I'm nineteen eighty-two, I mean, nineteen seventy-two.
3: Nineteen eighty-two? One year old?
Now, you know, May eighth I'm going uh going on
4: May thirtieth I'm going to grade six.
3: Shut up. May eithth I'm going on thirteen.
R: How long do you study at home after school?
3: One hour.
R: Just one hour?
3: I think just one hour.
R: You just play outside with your friends?
3: Sometimes, and watch T.V. -just like hockey.
R: Why do you watch T.V.?
3: I like to hear the English. But it is hockey.
Just watch hockey. So I like hockey.
R: What's the difference between listening to the radio and watching T.V.?
3: Radio is not fun. I-I don't-I don't
4: You can't see in it. (laughter)
3: Yes, it is. Uhm sometimes I don't understand what they are doing in-in radio. But I watch T.V.
I understand a(:)ny/
4: /Yeah, (be)cause they're moving./
3: Yeah, moving and uh uh something. Yeah, action and talking. I'm learning English so much in T.V.
4: T.V. Uh huh.
Miss xxx, I think she's good.

3: She's nice.
4: She doesn't get mad, and /
3: /I know one./
She was very kind. She never make angry, sometimes very gentle. I like.
4: She doesn't shout.
R: So do you think you are learnig very much from her?
3: Of course, it is.
4: Yeah. (3x)
R: What subjects do you think she teaches very well?
4: Uhm science, yeah, science.
3: I like social. Social is not very hard. It's fun. And Mathmatics is very very easy, too.
4: (laughing) That's why you got twenty-nine wrong?
3: When? I never know.
4: I knew. (laughing)
R: What are you learning in the science class?
4: We learn about dinosaurs.
3: Dinosaurs, yech.
4: Interesting.
3: I like the continent and oceans. It's fun.
4: We two got all right for the first time.
3: Yeah, but they are a(:)ll wrong. (laughing)
4: (laughing) Yeah.
R: Do you have your own story-book?
3: Yeah, I'm better than him. Of course I can make longer sentence. But he didn't.
4: That? You take more places (space) than I do. Like, okay, this is line. You go like this, and I go like this.
3: I never do that. I always. Forget it.
R: xxx, do you go to church every Sunday?
3: Of course, I did every day.
R: What do you like best in the church?
3: Uh here is the uh /
4: /Songs? /
3: No way, no. I forgot that(.) Here is the um some teachers, a(:)nd
4: You got Sunday school?
3: Uh he used uh some Korean language and English.
R: Do they speak in English or in Korean?
3: In Korean. You know why? I-I um I-I come from Korea not so long time ago. I'm just short time. So they uh they want to use Korean.
R: xxx, you like to have many friends?
3: I like that, but I mean, uh I have a chance, but I don't like make many friends.
R: What is the benefit to have many friends?
4: Oh, like they help me.
R: What do they help you?
4: Uh if I fight, (laughter)
3: Never, never happens.
He thinks that he's strong, right?
4: He helps me like work and /

3: /What kind of work?/
4: Uh you don't know what work is?
3: I know.
4: Homework. You know what? Homework. (laughter)
3: I know. I understand.
4: A(:)nd, like, they play with me.
3: Yech.
4: (laughter)
3: Every time, his friend make dislike. Can you stand
up here? Stand up here.
4: No.
3: Please. (2x)
Maybe this side-this side friend, and you go like
like this, or maybe this side friend. I am xxx.
Oh, do you wanna fight, fight? (laughter) You
go always like this, just fight, fight.
4: (laughter)
3: He-he wanna-he uh he have a friend, and uh he have
not, I am xxx and another people, he have friend,
he touch everybody. Uh if he in a soccer, this is
a ball and hit. You-you're not on somebody. If he
hit-hit the breast, so he goes like this. Wow, hit
the ball. You fight, you fight (laughter). You
would but-but he-somebody but because he never touch.
I have much friends in Korea. Maybe whole class are
all my friends.
R: Do you think all of them liked you?
3: Uh huh.
4: (laughing) Not all of them.
3: I know.
R: You must be the hero among your friends?
4: No way.
3: It is.
You know grade five? I'm com-uh-com-uh just uh five
May uh May, okay, just a moment.
4: Grade five, May?
3: May, May, I mean, coming May?
4: Grade six, maybe.
3: Uh grade five. I-I, listen, you know, uh grade 6's
we are going grade six before (after) grade five,
uh uh ten days or five or nine days la-later you're
going grade 6's, uh uh teacher says uh, you
guys wanna going with some friend-you guys wanna
going grade sixes. Everybody said, yes. Uh you wanna
going your best friend with grade sixes. Everybody
come with me.
R: Oh, yes, you were the most popular in your class.
4: But because you know why? I am a very nice
fighter and I help my friends, everybody.
A(:)nd and I had fun. But [not here. (2x)]
3: [But not now.]
Everybody hates you. (laughter) Poor boy.
R: xxx, what is your hobby?
3: He likes fighting. (laughing)

4: No(::) Uh uh uh.
3: Do you li(:)ke/
4: /Making, yeah, making/
3: Making? Me, too, I love that.
4: Model cars.
3: I sci-scien-I gonna scientist.=
R: Oh, you want to be a scientist?
3: Yeah, it is. I'm very smart.
R: I know that. Mrs. xxx told me that you're very smart.
3: Yeah.
4: Yeah, he does. Yeah, drawing is excellent.
3: But uh uh when I coming here, I like hock- I saw
hockey. I want something- a hockey man.
4: Hockey player. I wanna be judge.
3: Judge?
4: Huh you wanna fight? In jail. (laughing)
3: (laughter) He never do that.
4: Yeah. (laughing) You too in jail.
3: Thank you.
R: What is the major difference between Korean Schools
and Canadian schools?
4: I know. (3x) They don't have library, and they
don't have good washroom.
3: It's very dirty.
4: It's not separate, like, you know what? my friends
always go, uh, yech. (laughing)
3: I hate that. Just uh same, uh boys and girls
washroom is.
4: Yeah, and there's a lot of school in here, but,
okay, uh many classes/
3: /Yeah, many peoples in our class./
4: Seventy-two.
3: Sixty-four or five. It is not very big. Just what
I uh-not this big. (laughing) And the same uh
twis uh/
4: /Yeah, twain-twain table./
3: It's not clean. Oh, yeach.
4: Yeah, that's excellent. Yeah, bumpy.
R: Bumpy, yeah. Some children carved lines.
4: Yeah, with knife. This is mine. This is yours.
3: Yeah, they do that. Half a year, this is mine.
This is yours. Oh, this is too dirty.
I don't like that. And with boys and girls,
I don't like that. too.
R: How come, you don't like to study with girls?
In Canada, you have girls in your class.
3: Yeah. It's not play with girls. It's not uh
very/
4: /No fun/
R: But you can study with [girls.]
4: [with xx] girls.
Yech, Canadian girls better. xx girls,
yech. Like xxx, she always stare at me.
3: She never-she never know anything.

4: She go(.), what-what do you want? (2x)
3: Do you know what, xxx? She was very excellent.
4: Yeah, xxx's good.
5: xxx?
3: Uh front of, front me. She was good, excellent.
4: Yeah, she was good at Math.
3: Anything-anything was-she was good.
4: Yeah, but not better than me. (laughter)
3: No way. Better than you anyway.
R: How about xxx?
4: She came here since nineteen eighty.
R: She is still in the ESL class?
3: Yeah, I think she is maybe more than two years
three year or.
4: Yeah, xxx's too. xxx's too.
xxx, I'm better than her. She came since nineteen
eighty. And I'm better than her.
3: Oh, be quiet. Too big voice.
4: So what? xxx, I'm gonna (laughing) kill you.
3: This is true. I never lie. Because angry, bigger
than this, this size, a stick. It's xx and uh pine
tree, this size big. You have uh five or three.
You go like this, not hit here. He hit hands,
right?
4: Yeah, he hit here.
3: Oh, he was very angry. Maybe I'm grade five. One
month later she was-we didn't xx (do "cleaning-up).
She was ve(::)ry angry. She take this, and who didn't
clean this class? and she take this big / /stick.
4: /thick/
3: And uh come first line of class and go like this,
put your hands up uh. She go like this and whip.
Oh, yeah, very hard. She was uh take off uh -he
broke-she hit this desk and break the sticks,
and he take uh this size uh stick. Wow, and hit
and oh, he has very strong hand. He hit.
4: He go like this.
3: Not hit. He go like this. I hit uh he hit me here
two times. He hit-hit me here two times, this
way-this way. He go like this, so strong.
Somebody have a break, wow.
R: Did you have the same teacher as xxx's?
4: Yes. (2x)
3: He's not better than my teacher. Wow, he was very
scared. (He scared me very much.)
4: We go like this, right? He hits our bum.
3: He's better than my teacher. You know my teacher?
You go like this, and he hit there.
4: Yeah, thin, thin.
3: It was very thin.
R: Why do you think she hit you that much?
4: I don't know.
3: I don't know, either. (laughing)
I know. (2x) If we have test, you don't get 80 %

up, you got eighty percent down, seventy-nine
percent, he got one hit. If seventy-eight percent,
he got one hit. If he uh we got fifty-four or fifty,
he got hit ten or more. Hit there(.) Wow.
R: But you think all the teachers treat you like that?
3: No(::)
4: No. (3x)
3: He was behind-the-time teacher. But he was a nice
man.
R: How come, you think he is a nice teacher?
3: He said, sorry, and then studied again. He was pretty
nice guy. He have something, something.
He had sense, very nice sense. You know, (2x) he
never write uh on the chalk /
4: /On the blackboard /
3: Yeah, blackborad, I mean. Blackboard and chalkboard,
the same. And watch uh we are very nice small
talking. And who was talking and watched anybody.
I know again. He was uh just like this. So who was
touched him or something, he's know everything.
He has very nice sense. He get, uh sensing.
He was a very nice man.
4: My teacher, he can walk like this. He go(.)
Walk about(.) No, fifty seconds or something
like that.
3: You know. (3x) My grade five teacher, something,
uh you know, uh Korean chair is very heavy, wow,
better than this.
4: Yeah, we go like this.
3: We take (hold up) all this size an hour or more.
He scared me, everybody.
I-I don't want somebody hit me. So I'm study.
So I can uh got eighty percent up. So I can,
I never uh hurt my legs. You know? uh I'm
grade four-grade four. Somebody uh after school
I'm going home and somebody-some girl and her
mom went-going home. I'm going uh school, and
the same his friend, he hide back. He never
working again. So her mom is going for teacher.
But I know later her was my teacher again.
Grade five and eighth (class).
R: But I think you studied more.
3: Yeah, more. He was-he was very excellent (at)
violin and piano. Everything, she can play.
R: If you were in Korea, you would study more than
three hours a day.
3: You do?
4: No. (laughing)
3: No, not me. I'm-if we get test, I get just two-two
hour, not three hours. That's too hard.
I hurt my eyes.
R: You hurt your eyes?
3: I see the one hour more or two hour more.
I'm dizzy.

4: Yeah, dizzy. That's true.
3: That's true. I want to sleep. I don't want it,
but I thought / / closer.
4: / closing /
R: Oh, I see.
3: And dizzy, very dizzy.
R: But when you play outside / /
3: / Oh good. /
4: Excellent.
3: [I like soccer.]
4: [I like football.]
Yeah, touchdown. You don't understand.
3: I don't like foot ball. It's not very nice.
Soccer is better. I understand, but I think
it's not very nice.
4: What's two-hand-touch? What's tackle, huh?
3: Tackle, right? Wow.

Tape #12, March, 17. 1983.

4: Shut up. You always do.
R: You're not supposed to use what you have said.
4: I know that.
1: Well even my teacher uses it, too.
R: Your teacher?
1: Because he gets so mad.
R: How about Mrs xxx?
1: No, never.
4: She never swear.
1: She never gets mad.
They didn't usually get mad, either. Like when
we didn't finish our homework, then we have to go
and spank him. That's why we-he doesn't-if we
didn't finish our homework, she-nobody get-teacher
doesn't get mad. That's ususlly how Korean teacher
does, usually.
5: Sometimes when I was in grade two, and my teacher
gives us homework, and whoever do most of page,
and who didn't done that much, they got the hit.
And sometimes they even give us homework and when
I finish my homework, I finish my whole notebook.
R: Yeah, that's true. You had a lot of homework when
you were in Korea. But in Canada you don't have
any homework?
4: I don't get homework.
1: Most time we have-do like in Korea. They give
a lot of homework, not as in Korea, but
R: But you have something to do at home. Does it
often happen that you are not able to finish
your homework?
1: No.
R: Good. How about xxx and xxx?
5: Sometimes when I forgot.
R: When you didn't finish, what happens in the school?

1: We have to stay at recess and do rest of the page that we didn't do.
5: Sometimes she just let us go.
1: I wanna get-I don't wanna be lawyer. I wanna be dentist or doctor uhm uhm have a little-have business.
R: Uh huh your own business?
1: Yeah, sort of like boss and engineer.
5: Engineer? If you do, it's better for(.) later.
R: What are you going to do during spring break?
4: I don't know.
5: If the weather's good enough, I'm going to go camping for sure.
4: Oh, you're going out camping.
5: If it's warm. Last summer we went about every second week.
R: How about xxx?
1: Saturday I might go rollerskating.
R: Skating?
1: Yeah, rollerskating, and I don't know-I don't have plan on Monday or Tuesday or Wednesday.
4: Oh, yes, I might go.
R: Are you going to join your brother?
4: Huh uh.
R: You don't?
4: I hate to go with my brother.
5: How come?
4: It's boring.
1: All right. He lost five bucks last time, and we had to ask everybody for a quarter.
4: Shut up.
1: He hates to go with me. Hah I hate to go with you.
R: What do you think about your Korean school you attended?
1: School? Yech, sick. It has stairs. We have to walk all the way to the top floor, especially when grade six or five and uhm
4: I never went up stairs.
1: Every year classroom changes. Sort of like um every year um when the um um winter holiday over then they change the uhm room.
R: When the grade changes, you change the classroom.
1: Yeah, I know. But I mean the um um I know I'm going higher grade, but um grades uh six room was here, and then next year it goes down or move to corner like that. That's what I mean. And um this is my-this is what my classroom did, like every week uhm they moved to other desk.
5: Yeah, me too.
1: And we have to do all the-all the what's called cleaning-ups. And every-every week one row does the cleaning-up, and then next, and then next, and then next row. That's stupid, but janitor, janitor does that, everything.

5: In my class every person got to clean everyday.
1: Here usually they have about um twenty, it it's uhm uh about twenty to twenty-five sometimes almost thirty, but in Korea they-they have-some school has seventy, some school has eighty, and at least, at least, they have sixty, at lea(:)st.
5: In my school, at lea(:)st seventy.

Tape #15, April, 14. 1983.

R: Did you help them to read those letters?
1: Um during the class Math-during the Math, um I think it was yesterday, Mr. xxx called me and xxx. So I went over to his office, and he told me to read the letter. So but I was trying to read it. It was hard.
R: Is it so hard?
1: Yeah, and um especially that um principal's letter. (I) can't even understand.
R: You can't understand?
1: A(:)nd um the other um children's letter, I knew what's-what meaning of it, but Iuhm I didn't-I-I can't say in English.
R: In English?
1: I can't.
R: I can't remember the name of the grade three teacher. She's a small short lady. Do you know her?
1: Does she has glasses?
R: No, she doesn't.
1: Um I think Mrs. xxx.
R: Mrs. xxx, she seemed to be very interested in the pen-pals.
1: Maybe I don't know who.
R: In Korea, younger brothers should be polite to their elder brother.
1: Yeah, I know. But I don't. He doesn't listen to me.
4: I did everything for him.
1: Oh, sure you do.
4: Yeah, I brought a cup of water, apple.
1: So did I.
4: No, you didn't. You never. You just get mad.
5: Sometimes xxx kicks you?
4: No.
1: I never hit him. He hits me.
4: No, you hit me first. Bug me first.
R: Did Mrs. xxx read you an intersting story?
4: Yeah. Uhm it's about a monster who hid in forest, and if you go in that forest, you die and you don't come out. And that one little uh-little girl went there and uh she-she saw that uh monster and threw a penny at him.
5: A penny?
4: I don't know. A quarter? And monster just ran away.
1: Just ran away?

4: Uh huh or I mean, mirror, through morror and monster
got scared, something.

Tape #17, April, 28. 1983.

R: Mr. xxx was absent today. What happened to him?
3: I think-I hear she went to doctor.
R: She we(:)nt.
3: I mean he, he went to doctor.
Uh I like this school too much.
4: Why?
3: Why, you know.
R: Mrs. xxx told me that you did your job quite well.
3: But/
4: /I'm better./(laughter)
3: Yeah, that's right.
4: I am.
3: Not, uh Mathmetics, but not a I like-I like
4: So you got sixty-three, I got eighty-one?
3: Sometimes, (2x) it is. When did I got sixty-three?
4: In social studies.
3: He got ninety-one percent to Mathmetic and social.
I got just eighty-eight percent.
R: That's good for you, xxx.
3: But/
4: /I'm better./(laughter)
R: Maybe you'll go to Junior High.
4: Yeah, we will. In August.
3: Not August. It is September.
4: So what?
3: I'm very good at Mathmetic, uh art and
4: Mathmetics, art, and gymnasium, that's all.
3: Gymnasium and science.
4: Science uh no way/ /No way.
3: /Yes, I am./
And social.
R: What did you today?
3: He-he play/
4: /I played computer./
R: A computer? For what?
3: Decimal
4: Decimal math.
3: Mathmetic, he's not better than me, Mathmetic.
You know what? Before?
4: So? I've got to test you more anyway. (laughter)
3: He come to the uh uh first time. He came to the (2x)
uh Mr. xxx? And we have-we got a test like something,
like he did. Just he came. He was uh I don't know
what question but he got three times wrong.
It was so easy, but he got three thimes wrong.
R: You played baseball very well.
3: Soccer(.) anything.
4: Uh uh.
3: I can play soccer, too. Running, anything.

4: So what? I can play.
3: What, what kind? I can play tennis ball, too.
4: Can you play basketball?
3: Of course, I do.
4: No way. I don't believe you.
3: I did before a summer school.
4: I don't believe you.
3: Believe me, then.
4: (laughter)
1: I like to play /   / baseball.
3:               /Right/
1: But I was stupid team.
3: Right. I'm used to be like this way.
4: Yeah, always.
3: So fast, but I never hit the ball.
I don't like Chinese baseball. It's too easy to learn.
4: Stupid. Kick (laughing), home-run.
3: You never. You always out.
4: (laughter)
3: Out. I always catch-catch your-your ball(2x), right?
4: No. I always/   /
3:             /I'm best catcher./
4: You go, miss(.) uuhh. And you-your middle finger,
3: I never. It's too high.
4: So? Over there, ah. (laughter)
See, the ball's right coming over there.
3: He never-he never, the ball always drops that way.
And you go, ook ook. (laughter)
Uh I like hockey game.
4: Black Hawks.
3: Black Hawks, they're gonna lose, for a-for (as far as) I know. They're not win Oilers.
4: How do you know? (laughter)
3: Be quiet.
R: Is there any hockey game on T.V. tonight?
1: No. On Sunday.
3: No. Yes.
4: Oh, Friday. (2x)
1: Thursday.
4: Yeah, Thursday. Islanders and Boston.
3: Boston Bruins, I guess Boston Bruin win.
4: Uh huh. Islanders I think.
3: Uh huh. Do you watch the hock-you want to watch the hockey game tonight?
4: Yeah.
3: Okay,/   / you said, uh Islanders guys win.
4:      /Bet?/
3: I said,/   /
4:        /I said, uh Islanders going to win./
3: Oh, no. Bostons are better than Oilers, too.
1: Bostons?
3: Yeah. Uh(:) just eight games, I mean eighty.
1: So?
3: They got uh hundred and ten xx.

1: That's points.
3: Yeah, and uh fifty wins.
4: In this year?
3: Yeah.
4: No way. Last year you mean.
3: Boston.
4: Last year?
3: Yeah. This year I mean.
4: This year?
3: Nineteen eithty two and nineteen eighty-three.

Tape #19, May. 6. 1983.

4: Mr. Kim?
R: Yes.
4: Come here, please.
I've got to ask you a question.
3: You gonna-gonna come tonight?
R: Tonight?
4: Yeah.
R: You have a big sale.
3: Uh huh.
4: And you can eat cake free.
3: You have-must come, okay?
(It) starts at seven.
What you talk about? What he talk about?
What he mean?
4: That uh-that uh
3: Oh, yeah. (3x) Then you are-are you finished
twenty-seven? Are you finished all?
4: No(:) Forty. Forty-nine is
3: Yeah, I know. (2x)
You finished one, two, three. And-and I didn't
finish two yet.
4: Too messy.

Tape #20, May, 6. 1983.

1: Do you know why Mr. xxx sent xxx to Mrs. xxx?
Because uh he had to learn more.
2: Especially in language arts?
1: Yeah, and his reading.
4: Mrs. xxx sent him to Mr. xxx.
2: Yeah, he didn't finished that.
4: Yeah, xxx doesn't do his homework.
5: Oh, why? He never finished?
4: He never finish anyway.
R: What did you do for the Open House?
4: Shower of flowers.
R: Flowers, yes, they were really nice.
5: The roses are excellent, right?
R: Yeah, Mr. xxx was proud of that decoration.
4: Did you saw the uh-have you seen that of the rose?
R: Yes, I have seen it. That's yours?

3: Yes.
R: What kind of work do you do?
4: Washing dishes?
3: Right.
4: I just guessed that.
3: I'm a dish-washer. I-I have five hours.
4: You work five hours?
3: Right.
4: Too long.
3: But it's not very busy. Sometimes seven to eight
(o'clock) very busy.
1: xxx is working.
3: You don't know that?
R: Yes, I know.
3: We went uh last summer uh(:) What is it? uh(:)
4: Summer school?
3: No. There's all the country people come to the-some
park, and playing a(:)nd/
4: /Oh, yeah, Heritage./
3: Right.
1: Heritage Park. (Hawrelak Park)
3: Did you went there?
1: And then uh lots of people come there, and they
show/ / and uh their country and dancing.
4: /Dancing/
3: You went there?
4: Yeah.
3: There is, uh there was-I mean there uh dancing.
There's his daughter. (researcher's daughter)
4: xxx danced, too.
3: I never saw her.
1: There was also xxx.
xxx and xxx, they were always dancing.
R: xxx was an excellent Korean dancer.
3: Uh no(::)
R: That was what Korean people said about her dance.
3: How about? She did uh Kang-kang-su-weol-le (Korean
classic dance)?
R: No, I don't think it was Kang-kang-sul-weol-le.
She danced typical Korean dance.
3: Herself?
4: No, I never saw her dancing herself.
1: Four dancers.
4: Three dancers are uh at the back. One, and one is
at the front.
3: I think I know that.
4: And xxx sat over there. And xxx was
1: xxx wasn't over there.
4: I know. xxx, I said.
1: And some of-some of grade three girls were there.
4: I know her.
R: Why do you hate xxx?
1: I hate the girl. Like last time uhm uh like last time
um um when I wasn't popular, she used to hate me.

Like uh uh like uh(:) when I looked at her, like I
was looking around, and then uhm when I looked at her
by accident, and she looked at me like and she used
to hate me. And then I talked to her and now she is
trying to suck up to me. She's so fag. I hate her-her
guts. But xxx and xxx never did it. xxx and xxx
never did that. They were always nice to me. That's
why I hate her. xxx, uh she thinks she is so great.
3: [Right.](2x)
4: [Yeah.] She goes.
3: It's his job. Looks like monkey.
He's not monkey. Almost chimpanzee.
4: And strong as a gorilla.
3: Buffalo. I like. Who's buffalo?
4: xxx. I'm a cheetah. You're a tiger.
3: You know that chair? You know that uh uh hea-heavy
chair you sit. And some must uh uh that, what is it?
Uh my story book, that-that I mean that is too very
heavy. Uh uh we can't take them out. So xxx come,
he hold that all himself (laughter), big heavy desk,
5: And you can't-you didn't lift it up?
3: No. We have-it's much too big for our from the floor.
1: xxx is heavy.
3: Very heavy. He's over sixty-five, right?
4: He's sixty-six.
3: Yeah, (2x) rihgt.
4: He's about twice as big as me and you.
1: He's even bigger than my-my mom.
3: He's full size, big ma(:)n our, right?
Uhm I am fotry-five, right? But he's over sixty-five.
Oh, my god.
R: But xxx is a very nice boy, isn't he?
4: [No way.]
1: [No way.]
4: He always fight, and he doesn't do his homework.
3: He never.
4: His sister, too(.) xxx.
3: If he didn't-she didn't-she din't finished, he never
comes to school, you know.=
4: Yeah, and afternoon he comes.
3: Afternoon, yeah.
4: And he-he said, I went to dentist.=
3: No. He says, no bus, no cars, no money. He didn't
com-he can't come to school.
4: And no bus, I can't-I can't come to school.
My mom was sleeping, huh? (laughter)
R: How about xxx?
4: She's pretty.
3: Pretty? Oh, my god.
1: She's so ugly. She is fa(:)t / /as xxx.
3: / Right./
1: xxx is fatter than xxx. She's better than her.
God, you should see xxx, man, her legs.
4: She does her homework. She's pretty good

uhm / /artist.
3: / Who? /
1: xxx.
3: Oh, she's fifty-five.
xxx is sixty-six.
4: Oh, yeah. She is fifty-five.
3: Yeah, right. She is fifty-five, right?
4: xxx, fifty-nine. I mean uh I mean forty-nine (2x).
1: Forty-nine?
4: Yeah, heavier than you.
3: Heavier than me, too.
R: How about xxx?
3: (S)he is fifty-four.
R: She is very big.
4: I know. She has to be grade seven. She's thirteen over
right now.
1: Yeah, and she's been here about/
4: /Four years /
1: And she can't even talk English better than me.
She can't even[talk]
3: [Better]than-not better than xxx, too.
4: Not better than you, too.
1: xxx and xxx.
4: xxx, yeah, xxx's been here five years, almost
five years. He goes, uh huh.
1: He's worse than grade three guys.
4: Uh uh. Grade two, man. She-he goes to grade two,
every language time about um um eitht uh nine-twenty
(2x), xxx and xxx.
3: xxx and xxx, they are-they are never/
4: /Stupid./
And xxx, too. Buffalo (2x), xxx, buffalo.
R: They are very friendly, aren't they? xxx and xxx.
4: Uh huh, xxx, I don't like him that much.
3: He's fat, too. He's forty-nine maybe.
1: Forty-nine?
4: Uh uh. Fifty-nine.
3: You are-are you crazy? He's fifty, over than,
I-I mean. He didn't grow up to fifty. He's
forty-nine. Uh not better than Korean girls.
4: xxx Buffaloes.
3: Yeah, xxx looks like nice.
She-she /
4: /Yeah, sometimes. /(laughter)
3: Not sometimes. Better than you everyday.
4: (laughing) Then, better than you, too.
3: I know.
R: Who is xxx?
4: xxx's Hong Kong. She's came from Hong Kong.
3: She-she's sometimes better than us,
but/
4: / She's ninety percent./
And we are seventy, I mean, uh uh seventy-four
in Math test.

1: You guys are seventy.
4: Seventy-seven, we're seventy-seven. We're second.
Koreans are second, and uh French (2x), no,
Chinese (3x) Chinese is third. And French is fourth.
3: They are-not a people are all fifty. (laughter)
R: How about Germany?
4: (laughter) Germany? Thirty-four percent. (laughter)
xxx? Chily? fifty-four percent.
3: He said, I'm huuh huuh.
4: Better than last time. Stupid.
3: Yeah. Two of them and xxx, I'm better than.
I'm better than that. (laughter)
Yeah, almost fifty-four or
4: Fifty or less than fifty. They 're not over (2x)
fifty. [They're never over fifty.]
3: [They never over fifty] or sixty.
4: No, (2x) never except for xxx.
xxx is sixty-four percent.
3: She never over seventy. (laughter) I-I always over
the eighty. But/
4: /But this time./
I was eighty-one or eighty-two or ninety-one,
something like that. But this time seventy-seven.
3: I don't know why?
4: Yeah, bad luck day. It was a little ha-hard.
3: It take times, though.
R: If you studied a little harder, you could get
higher than ninety percent.
3: [I know.]
4: [I did] two times.
3: Our class never study every time. They never study.
4: Yeah, xxx. xxx always goes to hockey or soccer.
3: Our class never study. xxx, he-he's supposed to
be going to Junior High this year.
1: But he's not. (2x)
3: Uh he never times. He never read. He never write.
4: He never know how to time. Seven times three?
Seven times three(.) twenty-four (3x), right?
3: He never times.
4: Divide by. (2x)
3: He always get the three or four percent or
twenty something like that, xxx, Miss xxx, right?
4: Yeah, xxx's no good.
R: She's from Hong Kong.
4: [No. China.]
3: [Chinese.] They are true Chinese.
R: Oh, China mainland, you mean.
3: Yeah, maybe. They are all the uh uh com
R: Yeah, Communist China.
1: They are?
4: xxx's from West Germany.
3: Then he come from East, right?
4: East Germany's good.
3: It's looks like North Korea.

4: East Germany's good. West Germany's bad.
R: West Germany's good. East Germany's bad.
4: What?
3: West is bad?
4: Yeah.
3: East is good.
R: You seem to get mixed up. The sun rises in the East.
4: I know.
R: East Germany is a communist country.
Anyway both German countries could be united.
3: Yeah, they not bad.
I hate North Korea.
4: It's a war.
3: I like Oilers /   /best.
4:                /Yeah, Oilers./
3: Vancouver, they are dumm.
4: They are stupid.
3: Last-last year they got uh come to the uh got to the uh Cambol Bauer.
4: Campbell Bauer?
3: Yeah, right, Campbell. They call Campbell.
4: I liked Grant Fuhr last week. I mean last year better than Andy Moog, but now I like
3: Last year, right. Andy Moog is the most better than.
4: Grant Fuhr was better than him at
3: Last year I know. But this year /   /
4:                /He was excellent./
He-he goes like this. Ken Linsman's good.
3: Oh, all together, you mean, every.
Game one, game one, yesterday game one was, I mean.
Yeah, yesterday. Fooza was best, right? He got two goals.
1: Who?
3: Fooza. Ten, number ten.
1: Fozer.
3: Anyway, (2x) I don't like Linsman.
4: Yari Kuri, I like him.
1: Kevin Lowe.
3: Mike Bossy, I don't like him.
1: Mike Bossy is for the Islanders.
4: I like Kenny Linsman.
3: He scored three goals last year, so uh [the people]
1:                [No way.]
3: He scored three.
4: Just three goals?
1: More.
3: Oh, my god, you guys. Last game.
4: Last game? You said, last year.
3: No way. I said last game.
4: You said, last year, man.
3: Something wrong. Okay, come here. Game, game what's that?
4: Re-repeat that. Let's see.
R: Repeat this?

4: Yeah. (laughter) Let's see. He said, last year.
3: People said we want Gretzkty (2x) like uh he want to make four goals.
R: Four goals?
3: Gretzky made four goals(.) three times, right?
4: In one period.
3: Yeah, one period. All stars game. That's great, right?
4: Yeah, and he won a car.
3: Yeah, that's uh fourteen thousand dollars.
4: It was nineteen eighty-two style.
1: It was?
4: Uh huh.
1: Okay.
3: He-he had that and the biggest, silver trophy, something like that.
1: Lady Bine something like that.
3: Yeah, Lady Bine Trophy. I-I saw it already.
1: I don't know Lady Bine.
3: Uh no. I mean another one. Did-did he got the Lady Bine Trophy?
4: Yeah.
3: When? This year?
4: No, last year.
3: No, last year Boston uh when I don't know.
4: No(::)
3: Boston got that trophy.
4: No. Look in your magazine, heh?
3: Want a bet?
4: yeah.
3: Okay.
4: I want an aluminium bat, baseball bat.
3: Yeah, how about that? Are you sure?
I have a bat. Last year uh Gretzky got seventy-eight, right?
4: Uh huh. Seventy-nine or seventy-eight.
I saw that.
1: For what?
3: For Lady Bine Trophy. He got Art Ross Trohphy and the Art Trophy last year.
Hey, who got win tonight game?
4: Hum Oil-Oilers, they're playing on? Maybe.
3: Islanders and Boston.
4: Where? New York? or
3: Naybe, I know. I think that's(.) oh, Boston (2x).
Boston's gonna win. How about you?
1: Boston or Islanders?
3: Boston's gonna win.
1: In where? Boston?
4: In Boston Coliseum.
1: Islanders gonna win, maybe.
3: Maybe (2x). I'm sure Boston gonna win.
4: Yeah.
3: They maybe-they-they

4: They're gonna-they're gonna get Stanley Cup back,
huh?
3: They play very hard because they uh three to one?
4: You know, yesterday, no the day after yesterday,
I think.
3: The day after yesterday?
4: Eight to two.
3: It was Sunday, right? The day after-the day before.
4: The day before, yeah (3x), right.
It was eight to two.
3: Eight to three. You never saw.
4: Eight to two, dummy.
3: Ask your brother.
4: Eight to two, huh?
All: (laughter)
3: Boston got win. I am sure. They are more better
than Islanders.
1: What? No way.
4: No way, Islanders are better.
3: No way.
4: No way. (slapping him)
3: Don't do that. Uh Islanders got thirty-eight
games win, but Boston got fifteen-fifty-fifty.
Oilers are fourty-seven. Islanders have
thirty-eight.
Maybe (2x) there is seven teams in Canada, right?
4: Twenty-one.
3: Seven teams in Canada, maybe.
4: So? Okay, I'm going to see(.) One.
3: Start from-begin to the Vancouver. Vancouver Island,
Winnipeg, Montreal.
4: Seven?
3: Yeah, four more.
4: Eight.
3: What?
4: Toronto.
3: Oh, okay, call again.
4: Toronto, Winnipeg, a(:)nd Islanders.
3: Islanders?
1: Islanders not in Canada.
3: Yeah.
4: Rangers?
All: No(:) (laughter)
3: You can call this city.
4: Five, okay. Edmonton, Calgary.
3: What do you mean five? Just I have just two, okay?
4: Okay, (2x) Toronto, Winnipeg, Edmonton, Calgary,
3: Vancouver.
4: Boston.
1: Boston? (laughter) You're stupid.
3: Okay, Montreal, and-and-and the last one, Quebec.
That's all.
4: Quebec, eight.
3: Seven.

4: Eight.
1: Okay (2x), Vancouver/ /Calgary, Oilers,
4: /Minnesota/
1: Minnesota is in the States. (laughter) Vancouver, Edmonton, Calgary, Quebec, Toronto, Montreal, and Winnipeg, right, that's all.
3: That's all, seven teams, just seven teams.
1: Minnesota, Boston. (laughter)
All: (laughter)

Tape #22, May, 13. 1983.

1: What about barbecue party?
3: What time?
R: We have to decide.
1: What day? Is it Saturday or?
3: It's better, but I can't come.
R: Oh, you're working.
3: Right.
4: Every Saturday?
3: And Friday.
4: So Thursday is the best, I think.
R: The day before yesterday I went to the Korean Restaurant. Do you know "Bulgogi-burger"?
1: Hey, there's "Bulgogi-burger"?
R: Yes, it was really nice.
3: I like "Teriyaki Chicken" more better.
1: "Teriyaki Chicken"?
What is that?
4: I know. I have eaten before.
3: You don't know. You never eat them before then.
4: I hate "Korean Garden(s)". We have to wait for about an hour.
1: Two hours.
3: My-my restaurant-my uncle's restaurant is for fasters.
R: Yeah, very fast and they served very well.
1: But food is very bad. (laughter)
R: I think "Bulgogi-burger" is the best.
3: I don't like. You never eat all-all the poods.
4: Poods-food. (laughter)
3: What is that? You-you look like Russia. Yeah.
R: Okay, why don't we go to the "Korean Restaurant"?
1: Okay, how about that?
3: Did you?
1: I wanna try um Bulgogi-burger, whatever.
3: Did you um-did you eat um "Teriyaki Chicken"?
I mean, Chicken wings?
R: Yes, I've eaten lots of times.
3: Before that-before that there is a corner.
1: Corner?
3: There is a chicken wing, before "Teriyaki Chicken".
I like that best.
How about Chinese-Chinese restaurant?

1: Chinese restaurant?
4: Oh, gross.
1: Let's go to "Korea Restaurant".
R: Maybe we'll go there next Thursday.
3: Next Thursday? Oh, my uncle will come tomorrow,
maybe. He's fun, very fun.
4: Some girls are practicing Tae-Kwon-Do.
3: I know.
R: xxx? or
1: xxx?
3: Why-why did xxx break the-broke her neck?
1: Because they were um-she was practicing
some kind of hurdle um practicing hurdle,
and then she-she sprint (sprained) her ankle
something like that. She broke her ankle.
3: I think I can't work tomorrow.
4: Good. Why?
3: I have to be here. That's why.
4: I'll see the whole feast. I'm not song (sing).
3: Hey, xxx, I don't know. Um this-next Friday
are you um running the tracking?
I mean, um /
1: /Race? /
Yeah.
3: Are you?
1: Sunday?
3: I mean Friday.
1: I don't know. Um against Marina Greece Martin?
4: Yeah.
1: Probably. And on-on Sunday you-I have um um
race again. It's in Den Knott, down there,
Junior High. It's fifteen hundred meters.
4: Fifteen hundred, just that?
1: That's long.
4: No way. I ran twenty-five hundred.
1: Twenty-five hundred meters?
4: Yeah. For the Canadian Fitness Test. (2x)
1: That's not two-that's-that's not two-hund-two
thousand five hundred meters.
4: Uh huh.
1: Two thousand, man.
4: It is.
1: It isn't, xxx.
4: It is.
1: I ran-I ran that last-last year. I did that last
year. It wasn't twenty-five thousand.
4: It is.
1: It wasn't twenty-five thou(sand).
4: It was.
1: It was one-one hundred fifty thou(sand).
3: What did you get then? First one, first?
1: I don't know.=
4: I got first in grade five uh one class.
1: xxx beat you.

4: No, never.
1: He did so.
4: I'm over excellent.
1: He beat you.
4: I got seven fifty-one. That's the best, dummy, heh?
3: Seven? What is it, seven fifty-one?
4: Seven minutes and fifty-one seconds.
3: Two-two thousand and five hundred terminal?
1: For two, maybe, one thousand and five hundred,
maybe, one thousand and six hundred or fif-five
hundred, probably six hundred.

Tape #23, May, 19. 1983.

3: How much do you have now?
4: Blah (blast off) (laughter)
3: How much money do you have before?
4: Uhm uhm one cent. (laughter)
No. One. I don't know. I forgot.
3: You said, over two hundred.
4: Ooh. (laughter)
3: In the van, you said.
4: Don't lie.
3: You said.
4: Oh, one hundred and nine, I mean two hundred
dollars(.) Don't lie.
3: What did you say then before?
4: I don't know. I got about uhm. I forgot.
Two hundred dollars! Don't lie, xxx.
3: Yeah, okay. (2x) It's not over-it's not over
the two hundred fifty.
4: Yeap.
R: xxx, what do you usually do when you get home?
4: First he eats.
1: First eat. And then um um sometimes watch T.V., or
um sometimes just go straight to work, and um
maybe if get boring like something, I-I go outside
and play.
R: Do you play with xxx?
1: Well sometimes we play, sometimes we play with
other guys.
3: Oh, what is that? Excellent. What is it? Waterbed?
1: Waterbed? That isn't a waterbed.
3: It isn't, but it is like. So never mind.
4: Wonderful people.
3: No, you never.
4: Uh huh.
1: Who cares?
3: The race uh is uh two thousand five kilometers?
(2500 meters) Everybody do that, xxx.
1: Everybody. You'll be bowl of xx, you know.
3: Everybody?
4: Yes.

3: Oh, I can do that.
1: That's not two thousand five hundred.
3: I probably-I am best.
1: You'll maybe.
3: Not maybe. I'll try hard. Maybe, you had better, right?
4: I'm first.
3: Of course, you are first. I know.
Did you-are you first, xxx? Can I win xxx?
Next to you? Next to xxx?
4: xxx can't run a far distance. He can just run short distance fast.
3: Oh, he will not have, no. He will not so fast.
4: He runs like this, wha wha. (laughter)
3: He's a German folk. So it is Germany folk dance, right? How about you? (2x) How do you run?
How are you run?
4: (sound and laughter)
3: That is Korean folk.
R: xxx, how was your language test? I think you're the best?
1: Best in my class? No way.
3: How much? (2x)
1: Eighty-one percent. Eighty-one percent out of one hundred and fifty-three question.
3: One hundred and fifty-three question?
1: Well not actually. Like um there's marks, like one question for two marks, sometimes maybe more than like that. And then um make, and they change into percent.
3: Who's best?
1: I don't know. xxx, maybe.
4: xxx is in your class?
1: Yeah.
4: I didn't know.
1: That's my highest mark.
4: Oh, nenety-six is my highest.
1: Oh, too bad. It seem like regular class, you little fag.
3: Ah, so what?
1: So what? You could-last year you could go to regular class then. Have test then.
4: Next year I'm going to grade six, dummy.
3: Oh, you never.
4: (hits xxx) (laughter)
3: This is my worst day. (laughter)
1: Watch you go. Watch you go to regular class, man.
4: Oh, man. No way.
1: Do you want homework? Takes about an hour.
Like special language and reading like.
4: I think Billy Smith was an excellent goalie.
3: I don't think he is.
1: Yes, he is. He's the best goalie in NHL. How much do you want to make a bet?

3: Uhm uh how about uh
1: One hundred fifty bucks?
3: No. Over that. Over then.
1: How much money have you in your bank?
3: My bank?
4: He doesn't have any bank.
1: Thousand?
3: I have. No-not-not-no, I don't have any thousand.
1: Five hundred?
3: No.
1: How much?
3: Over. Ah, under five hundred.
1: Ah, okay, then I'll bet you-I'll bet
your bank money.
3: How much?
1: Oh, well.
3: How much did I have in bank-in my bank?
4: About five hundred?
3: No way.
1: Okay, I'll bet you five buck-five hundred bucks.
3: Who get Con Smythe-Con Smythe Trophy?
1: What?
3: Con Smythe Trophy.
4: Islanders.
3: Yeah, Islanders/ /got.
1: /Islanders what?/
3: I mean Con Smythe, but /
4: / Billy Smith /
1: He's a goalie.
3: Wow, (2x) Gee. It's not goalie-goalie's uh
goalie trophy. Goalie trophy is uh uh Jervana,
I guess. It is uh before Mark uh Mark uh, I mean,
I mean, uh Mike Bossy got trophy. There is a
Canadian uh Canada Leaf over there.
1: That's?
4: [That's dif]ferent goalie.
3: [Con Smythe]
1: No, it isn't. That's-that's when um they gave it
to who's the valuable, most valuable player in the
NHL.
4: Uh uh.
3: Right. You're stupid. (laughter)
4: Shut up.
1: We're not asking you, you little fag.
3: You know nothing about that.
4: Shut up.
3: Uh what's-what's the most points score on trophy?
4: I don't know.
3: You don't know about that?
4: You don't know, either. (laughter)
3: I know that, Art ross Trophy.
4: Ard Load Trophy. (laughter)
3: What is it? But uh anyway Billy Smith got two trophy.
4: So what?

3: One is the best goalie. Maybe Oilers' Andy Moog get
best goalie-goalie trophy, too.
1: No way. He's not good.
3: Billy Smith is probably, his penalty, (due to his
penalty) he can't play any more. But
4: Why?
3: He hit two times, Anderson here and Gretzky, too.
1: Next year, if um Oilers got um got um can go up to
um finals, and if they're gonna have game with
Islanders again, Oilers gonna win because Billy
Smith, he's old. Next year he's gonna be thiry-three.
4: Oh, thirty-three years old?
1: Yeah, that's-that's old for hockey game.
Especially the um um goalie like um, if he,
a goalie's old, he can't side sight uh they can't
see, something like that.
4: He can't move that fast.
3: And Billy Smith is so fat, you know. And he moves
a lot slower, but he's so fat.
R: But he's a nice goalie.
3: No(::) I don't think.
4: He's good.
3: Because Oilers don't have any energy for hit the
ball (puck), too slow.
4: A lot better than you.
1: They do have power to hit the puck, um but like
stupid Oilers, they are stupid enough to shoot
the puck, [so slow.]
3: [So slow.]
1: Billy Smith/ /Billy Smith saves it-everything.
3: /So slow/
1: But Islanders shoot it high, about that high.
God, Oilers are so stupid.
3: Uh uh Dave Semenko, he did have high goal(.)
They were wrong.
4: That was fluky. That uh (be)cause-just because uh
Islanders, that guy tripped him. That's why he
got goal.
3: No(::)
1: He never tripped him. He checked him. And then
he got more power to uh on the way to the puck.
4: Uh uh.
1: He checked him.
4: Uh uh he tripped him with stick.
3: No, he didn't.
4: Uh uh.
1: Oh, you're so stupid.
4: Uh uh.
1: So stupid.
3: Something wrong?
4: Shut up.
3: You.
Anyway, this is today uh Sun-today's Sun.
1: What?

3: Newspaper.
4: Sun?
3: Right. Maybe Gretzky interviewed. Great six's for them. Did you saw that?
1: Yeah.
3: Did you see that?
1: Uh uh. Edmonton Oilers are very young compared with the other teams.
3: Yeah, excellent, too.
4: They were made in seventy-nine, nineteen seventy-nine.
3: Just three years. And they come in/
1: /Four./
3: Yeah, I want to.
1: Nineteen seventy-nine, they started the uh hockey game in nineteen seventy-nine.
3: I know.
1: And Gretzky nineteen seventy-eight.
3: Why nineteen seventy-eight? Nineteen seventy-nine, nineteen eighty, nineteen eighty-one.
1: Born in nineteen seventy-eight. It was '79, '80, '81, '82.
3: Ah, they made it February ninth of eighty, eighty-one, eighty-two, eighty-three.
1: Froget it. They played it. They started the hockey game in seventy-nine.
3: No(:)
1: Yes.
3: I have a-I have that uh I have a calendar when Oilers made them-made hockey team, but it's Oilers name. How can they play? They playing the nineteen eighty, start of nineteen eithty.
1: What does it say?=
4: In September twenty-first or twenty-third.=
3: Oh, that's nineteen eighty.=
4: Where does it say?
3: Calendar-Alberta Calendar.
4: Is that Mark Messier?
3: Yech, I hate him.
4: No, I don't. Better than you.
3: He never pass anyway.
4: So what? Charlie, I don't got Charlie Huddie always slack.
3: Because.
4: Because what?
All: (laughter)
3: Do you like Don Jackson?
4: Do(:)n Jackson, uh uh.
1: I hate every players on the Oilers.
4: I like Glen Anderson. No. Ken Linsman, yech.
3: I like that guy best.
There's no guy. (laughter)
4: Wayne Gretzky, the best.
3: Ah, he's just best player.=
4: So he shows off.

3: He get thirty-eight percent-point this year.
1: Point? No(:)
3: He's best.
1: Well actually um Nystrom, I mean, um um Mike Bossy is better than Wayne Gretzky. Except Gretzky had more chance to score um to.
3: More what?
1: Wayne Gretzky had more chance to/score./
3: /No(:) /
You don't even know what points mean. It's uh it's average.
1: That's what I know. Score.
3: Access (assist) and score plus score and access.
R: Assist, you mean.
3: He, yeah, assist, so he uh uh twenty-six assist he has.
4: Then Mark Messier has more.
3: Mark Messier's just six.
4: Six points?
3: Six assist and sixteen um so twenty-two.
1: So Mike Bossy has twenty-six, I mean, or nineteen or something like that. Nineteen eithty-one he got thirty-four points. That's all pretty good.
4: So what? I hate.
3: Why?
4: Because.
3: Where is your left tooth?
4: Where is your left eye? You've got to score.
3: What?
I like hockey best. Ah second best.
You? [How about your brother?]
1: [What's your best?]
3: Hockey.
1: Hockey? Mine's football.
3: Football? What's second-second best?
1: Hockey.
3: Better than that?
1: Third is / / maybe baseball.
4: / Soccer /
3: I don't like football.
4: Football is good. Just you don't-you just don't know how to play it.
3: Better than you, better.
4: Wow, no way.
1: Well you're not better than me, man.
3: I know. You're good player.
1: I'm good at every sports.
4: No way.
1: Yes way.
4: No.
1: Yes.
3: You are too small boy anyways. (laughter) he is like-like what is it?- grade five.

4: I don't know. (laughter)
1: I can beat him up. He's easy man.
3: Are you biggest boy today? (laughter)
1: He-he got the biggest body in the school.
He looks-he looks um/
3: /Buffalo/
1: Fat, he's [fattest] in the school.
4: [Baffalo,] yeah.
3: No, xxx is more fatter than him.
4: Of course.
3: He's sixty. Oh, my god.
1: Sixty kilometer-kilo/
3: /Kilogram./
Over (2x).
1: How about xxx?
4: About hundred? (laughter)
3: Never, maybe fifty.
How-how about-what is your third/ /favorite?
4: /What about?/
Baseball.
1: Baseball's your favorite?
4: No(::) Third.
1: What's first?
4: Hockey.
3: Hockey? Second?
4: Second is football.
3: Football?
4: Uh huh. I'm better than you at throwing, fag.
3: Oh, forget it.
4: I am. (shouting)
1: No way.
4: I am.
1: He thinks he's great, right?
4: I am. (laughter)
1: xxx, he thinks he's great, right?
3: Right.
4: How about you?
3: Never.
4: You think you're tough.
R: Actually, xxx is great.
4: Yeah. Greater than you, dummy.
3: He's fag.
4: How about you? You don't know what "fag" means.
1: No way. He's the best catcher.
3: What is it?
1: It's-it's slang for homesexual, right?
3: Oh, forget it.
1: What is it then?
4: What are you-what uh what uh then what uh then
what do you mean by "faggot" then?
1: Faggot? They just call them "faggot" and "fag".
4: Well what-what is it then? What-what does that mean?
How come, you're using it, huh?
1: Because I am.

4: Why?
1: Because I like that word.
3: You are best-you are best football player.
4: (begins to cry)
3: You are crying.
1: Yes, he is. He cries everyday.
4: Shut up.
3: Actually he's small kid.
4: I'll beat you up at home, okay?

Tape #24, May, 26. 1983.

3: xxx, are you hungry?
4: Well, I forget to bring my lunch today.
1: xxx, you'd better get a diet.
You're so fat, man.
4: So are you.
3: Fatter than me.
I only weigh eighty-nine pounds, right?
2: You're skinny.
R: How long do you read the Korean Bible a day?
2: Everyday? One page.
3: Uh one line. (laughter)
1: Oh, well I don't even have to do that much.
4: One letter. (laughter)
2: I have to-I have to read that.
5: My dad tells me to go to the Bible, and read
the English Bible. If I can't understand uh
2: Well okay, let me tell something. Okay I finish
Bible, Old testament, and I'm sick and tired,
and I had to write part of it at Daddy('s) room.
Yeah. I have to write one page or something,
(be)cause that's kind of literature, you know.
1: Are you coming to the ceremony?
3: I'm going to the work. That's way I can't come.
2: I could.
3: I think-I don't think coming to tomorrow morning,
but/
1: /Every ceremony?/
R: You could come to the ending ceremony after work.
3: Yeah.
5: I can't come at night.
3: He can't come. He's just like me.
4: Yeah? He doesn't do anything. He doesn't work.
1: I think he's carrying the flag(.) with xxx.
5: You like her, don't you?
All: (laughter)
4: xxx's carrying the flag with xxx.
1: And what?
3: You don't know?
4: You didn't even do your homework.
3: Sometimes people can forgot their homework.
4: Everybody like you?
3: He never. He just one time. But I didn't yesterday,

too. I lost them.
4: I never do.